

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 88.—No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 11TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



IRISH CHURCH DEBATE.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Normandy, 6. April, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,—In my last week's address to you, I, very shortly, touched upon this matter. I will now go into the subject matter of the debate; into the merits of the case; and will endeavour to prepare your minds for the events which must follow, both with regard to the church of Ireland and the church of England, let who will be Minister, and let the wishes of the Ministers, of the aristocracy, and of the King himself, be what they may.

Before I enter upon this matter, I must say a word or two upon the debate, merely as a debate. I was attentive to every word that was said, with very little exception, when the heat of the House was too great for me to support, without absolute peril; and this was unfortunately the case during the greater part of the time that Mr. O'CONNELL was speaking. I have always, during my whole life, delighted to hold talent in honour, when unassociated with positive and unquestionable wickedness. We are very frequently told that the days of Fox, of Pitt, of SHERIDAN, are gone. I remember those days very well. I very frequently, and very attentively, listened to all those men. I always thought Lord Grey the most able and the most eloquent of the whole of them, if I except, on the part of Pitt, his great quickness and volubility; and I do not know that,

even in these, he surpassed Sir ROBERT PEEL; and let it be recollected, that he had always a thundering majority in the House at his back, or (still more encouraging to boldness) an almost unanimous cry of the people; while Sir ROBERT PEEL has neither; has to struggle along against both wind and tide; and, which is still worse, against that monstrous debt, the contracting of which made Pitt irresistibly powerful; and in the perpetuating of which Sir ROBERT PEEL has, unfortunately for him, taken upon his own shoulders the burden which Pitt's reputation ought to have borne. Yes, the days of Fox, of Pitt, of SHERIDAN, are gone, and of CANNING too; but I, who am an impartial judge, in this case, declare that I never heard a debate carried on by those persons, at all approaching, in point of talent, to that which I had the pleasure to witness upon this occasion; and, as I said before, Lord GREY, who is still alive, was always, in my estimation, the cleverest man amongst them. I mentioned before the fine speeches of Lord HOWICK, Mr. GLADSTONE, and the Solicitor-General, to which I have now to add that of Mr. Sergeant WILDER. Lord STANLEY'S was greatly inferior to either of these, in my opinion. Indeed, the whole of the debate was conducted with very great talent; and though Sir ROBERT PEEL, before I was in Parliament, did praise DENMAN "for his manly conduct in prosecuting COBBETT," I will say here of him, that I do not believe that Pitt, under similar circumstances, would have displayed any thing like the intellectual resource, which was displayed by the Minister upon this occasion; divested of all considerations as to the result, I was filled with admiration at the exertions which he was able to make at the end of a four-nights' debate; and under such an accumulation of attacks; and with the certainty of defeat before his eyes.

Now, my friends, as to the merits of the case. You observe, that the proposition was, to take away from the Irish Protestant parsons that part of their in-

come which is more than what is wanted for the performance of religious duties towards their flocks. In many parishes in Ireland there are no Protestants at all, in others very few; in some, one. The argument was, that, as the tithes were given for the *cure of souls*, it was right to take them away, when the amount was greater than was necessary for the cure of souls. The opposition to the proposal may be expressed in three propositions.

1. That the Parliament has no rightful power to take away church property of any sort, and apply it to any other than ecclesiastical purposes connected with the established church.
2. That this resolution, if adopted, will cause an alienation from the church of church property; and that it will totally upset, in a short time, the Protestant church establishment in Ireland.
3. That it will form a precedent for like alienations in England; and that, of course, it will, finally, upset the church establishment in England.

If I had spoken, I had eleven acts of Parliament noted down upon a piece of paper, every one of which clearly proved that the Parliament had, and has, the rightful power to take away church property, lands, tithes of woods, tithes of corn, of hay, of pasture, of all sorts of crops, and of all sorts of animals, man only excepted; tithes on trades, tithes on labour; tithes on every thing produced by the earth, or produced by man's or woman's hands. This rightful power, which in the debate was called the *abstract right*, was *denied* positively by nobody, except by Mr. FOLLETT, nor was it positively *asserted* by anybody on the other side, except by Mr. Sergeant WILDE. The whole of the speakers in support of the motion declined going into the *abstract right*; and, on the other side, Minister and all, they slipped over it, and rested their arguments on the injustice of the proposition, and on its dangerous tendency. I was quite surprised to hear the Solicitor-General deny the right, with those eleven acts of Parliament before him upon the table, and with the notorious fact, that the *pasturage tithes* in Ireland had been abolished by

act of Parliament. In short, as my "*Legacy to Persons*" will show, in the most ample manner, the Parliament has a right to take away, and alienate for ever, all the revenues of the church, in both countries, as clearly as it has the rightful power to repeal the malt-tax. It was, therefore, very curious to see both parties so very shy of bringing this *right clearly before the eyes of the people*.

As to the other two objections, that the resolution, if acted upon, would subvert the Protestant church of Ireland, and, eventually, the established church in England, I, if I had spoken, was prepared to say, that I thought it *would have these effects*; and that it was *for that very reason, and no other, that I should vote for the resolution*! Now this was the reason why I did not speak at all. During the first two nights of the debate, I made several attempts to speak; but on the third night, after having listened to the speeches of the friends of the resolution, and heard their invariable anxiety to cause it to be believed, that the resolution would not have the effect of subverting the church in either country; I saw, that a frank expression of my sentiments upon the subject, would, if it had any effect at all, have the effect of lessening the chances of carrying the resolution; and as to refraining from a frank avowal of my motives, as to suppressing my opinions, that I scorn to do. I was further of opinion, that this transfer and new application of the revenues of the church of Ireland would do no good at all to the suffering millions of Ireland; and that any measure relative to the church would have no tendency to lessen the disturbances in Ireland, except that measure went to the complete abrogation, and withdrawing of, the Protestant hierarchy in that country. I wished the resolution might be passed, that the principle of alienation might be recognised by the Parliament; a frank declaration of my sentiments might have tended to prevent the recognition of that principle; and, therefore, I refrained, as I had a right to do, from making that declaration.

But NOW I am differently situated; and now I will state to you some of the

reasons, at least, for which I wish these two church establishments to be put down by law.

With regard to the Irish establishment, my reasons are stated at full length, in a petition presented to the House of Commons, in the year 1829, just after the passing of the bill for what is called Catholic Emancipation. During the discussions on that Bill, its advocates insisted, as they had always insisted before, that that was *all that was wanted* to restore Ireland to tranquillity and happiness; and Sir ROBERT PEEL and the Duke of WELLINGTON asserted, that amongst their most powerful reasons for proposing the measure was, that it would put an end, for ever, to all the ill blood relative to the existence of the Protestant hierarchy and domination; that it would cause the Catholics to pay their tithes cheerfully to the Protestant church, and would, of course, place the Protestant hierarchy on a secure and permanent foundation. I was shocked at this monstrous delusion; I, therefore, not only as a writer, exposed its erroneousness, but I presented a petition to the House of Commons, expressing my approbation of the measure of Catholic Emancipation; but, at the same time, declaring my opinion, that it would have no tendency to tranquillize Ireland; but that it would have a *contrary effect*; unless the Protestant hierarchy were totally put down for ever, and all its demands annihilated; and I prayed the House to proceed immediately to the abrogation of that church; and, that you may see my reasons at full length, and see also how completely its predictions have been verified, I shall insert the whole of the petition in another part of this *Register*.

It is impossible to look at this petition and not to perceive, that, if I had spoken for the resolution of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, I must have produced no effect at all on the minds of my hearers; must have attracted no attention at all from any body; must have done damage to the principle of the resolution; or must have been guilty of the most profligate insincerity. One of these three things must have been: I did not like that any one

of them should be; and, therefore, I held my tongue; content to say "Aye," to the principle contained in the proposition.

Then, with regard to the English church, how could I, in the first place, make a speech in favour of this proposition, without acting directly in the teeth of the professions of those by whom it had been supported? I had a petition which I drew up, and which I put in the hands of the partial sheriff of Kent, to be put to a meeting on PENENDEN Heath, in October, 1828, and which he refused to put to the meeting; this petition concluded in these words: "Your humble petitioners most earnestly pray, that your honourable House will pass an act totally abolishing all clerical tithes, both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the church revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the clergy the use of the churches, the parsonage-houses, and the glebes; and if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the priests and ministers of our Roman Catholic and dissenting fellow-subjects."

It is clear, then, that I should have been guilty of duplicity the most shameful, if I had supported this resolution on the ground upon which it had been supported by all its other advocates in the debate. If I had spoken in favour of the resolution, I must have stated my opinions and motives; to have stated them might have done harm; I wished the resolution to be carried for the sake of the principle; and, therefore, though I had at first intended frankly to avow my opinions, upon reflection I thought it best to desist, which I had a perfect right to do.

My reasons for the wishes contained in the petition of PENENDEN Heath, are fully stated in that petition, which I also insert in this same *Register*. The reading of these two petitions will let you into the whole subject, and will convince you that a total abrogation of these churches, by law, is a thing that there is reason to ask for at any rate; and to convince you that the principle must apply, and will inevitably apply itself, in England, if

adopted in Ireland, you have only to look at the *state of the church in England*. This state, in all its details, and with all its astounding circumstances; all its absolutely incredible enormities; this you cannot have till you get the "*Legacy to Parsons*." But, in the mean while, read the following abstract of a petition, which is inserted in the parliamentary papers, third report of the petitions; committee, 10. March, 1835. The petition was presented by me from the inhabitants of the parishes of TAESBURGH and SAXLINGHAM with THORPE-NETHERGATE, in the county of Norfolk, and the following is the report which the committee make on it:

"The petitioners pray the House to
 "repeal the new Poor-law Bill, to take
 "such measures as shall effectually dis-
 "solve the connexion between church
 "and state, to abolish tithes, and to pass
 "a law for the removal of all parsons
 "from the magistracy, and for the dis-
 "missal of the bishops from the House
 "of Lords; to grant to them universal
 "suffrage and vote by ballot, and to
 "repeal the Septennial Act, the malt
 "and hop taxes, and the game laws.
 "They consider the payment of tithes
 "taken from all sects to the preachers of
 "one sect, to be unjust, inimical to reli-
 "gion, and tending to generate and foster
 "ill-will between the clergy and their
 "parishioners: and they state that the
 "parish of Saxlingham-Thorpe, in which
 "some of the petitioners reside, has
 "NEITHER CHURCH NOR PAR-
 "SON, yet 200*l.* per annum are paid as
 "a composition in lieu of tithes."

Now these are three small county parishes in Norfolk. All but TEN land-owners and farmers in these parishes signed the petition. Here, then, are people in the situation of the Irish. They have tithes of every sort to pay, and they have neither church nor parson! One of the great arguments in favour of the resolution of Lord JOHN RUSSELL was, that it was an act of the most monstrous iniquity to compel people to pay tithes when the parson had no flock. This Norfolk parson has a flock; but he never can go near them, for there is no place to pen them in. Now, the Irish parson does say to his flock, "You may come if you

but this Norfolk parson can say to his flock no such thing, at SAXLINGHAM-THORPE. But this parson is a pretty busy man: he is Rector of SAXLINGHAM-NETHERGATE, he is Rector of THORPE, he is Rector of SHERRINGTON, and he is Vicar of SWARDESTON; and his name is JOHN STEWARD. How much this parson gets from his other parishes we do not know, but the petitioners say that he gets 200*l.* a year from SAXLINGHAM-THORPE where there is no church service! Well, say you, but this must be a rare instance: the church has just been knocked down, to be sure, by thunder and lightning! Has it? Stop a bit, till you get my "*Legacy to Parsons*"; and you will find that there are more sinecure parsons in England than there are in Ireland, had as Ireland is. What! you will exclaim, a man undertake to cure the souls of four parishes, be a rector three times over, and a vicar once! Impossible: you must be joking. You will not believe me, then, when I tell you, that there are two hundred and fifty parishes in England and Wales with no church in either of them? You will not believe me, when I tell you, that I will point out to you a *hundred* of the aristocracy, their relations and dependants, who have the cure of the souls of the people of *five hundred* parishes, besides their collegiate and cathedral benefices? You will not believe me when I tell you, that some of these enormous pluralists pocket part of the money, voted out of the taxes to aid Queen Ann's Bounty, by which their smaller livings are augmented? You will not believe me when I tell you, that these men come and take away the fruit of the livings, and leave the miserable incumbent very nearly to potatoes and salt: you will not believe me, when I tell you these things, until you have the proof of them, which, please God, you shall have in a few days, in the "*Legacy to Parsons*."

Am I wrong, then, in my wishes to extend the principle of Lord JOHN's resolution to England? And, at any rate, can any one give a reason why it should not so extend? I do not believe that any one can. This it was that tied the tongues of the advocates of the resolu-

tion; and it is quite surprising to think of the strange assertions that they made, with the view of persuading the House that the resolution would not at all affect the church of England; with what boldness, they asserted that nobody wanted to put down the church of England, in England; that nobody dreamt of such a thing. Why, few persons, comparatively, in their sphere of life, talk or think much about the matter; but I can assure them, that the petition from SAXLINGHAM-THORPE speaks the general sense of this whole kingdom, and particularly of England and Wales.

There was a great effort, an united effort, on the part of the advocate of the resolution, to cause it to be believed that in England there had been *no persecution* in the establishing of the Protestant hierarchy; that their minds had been gradually *prepared for it*, and that there was no force needed. Mr. POULTER observed, that the Protestant church in England was "established amidst perfect toleration"; Mr. LITTLETON said, that "it was established by the free good-will of the people." Even Mr. SARGENT WILDE had the same sentiment, though I cannot recollect the precise words. I dare say that all these gentlemen said what they believed to be true. I say very sincerely, that I think they believed what they said to be true; but I should be guilty of suppressing truth myself if I did not say, that that which they uttered upon this subject was as false as anything ever uttered by mortal man.

For two-and-forty years efforts were made to compel the people to go to the churches, on pain of imprisonment for life. I am not speaking here of Roman Catholics; I am speaking of *Protestant Dissenters*. During two-and-forty years the punishment on them, for attending meeting-houses, or for refusing to go to church, was in the last degree *imprisonment for life*; and under this "*perfect toleration*," under this "*free good-will*," thousands upon thousands of them died in prison. Even this, however, was not enough to make them go to church, so hated was that church by them. At the end of forty-two years of stripes and of chains came *banishment or death*; they

had their choice amongst three things. First, to go to their parish church, there publicly to beg pardon of God, for not having conformed to the orders of the church; solemnly to promise that they would conform in future, to confess their sin in having attended any other place of worship, and to call God to witness that they would never do the like again. This infamy and blasphemy formed one of the things amongst which they had to choose: the next was, *banishment for life*: the next was, *hanging by the neck till they were dead*; and this law continued in force for better than a hundred years; so that if you put this hundred years to the forty-two before mentioned, you will judge correctly of Mr. POULTER'S "*perfect toleration*," and of Mr. LITTLETON'S "*free good-will*," under which, and by which, this church was established. The fact is, that the people as a body never liked this church: they always wanted the adoption of the voluntary system. Within the last hundred and thirty years the law has let them more and more loose; and the reform of the Parliament, imperfect as it yet is, has given them that degree of power which will bring them back into that state from which they never could have been taken, except by the horrid cruelties of which I have been speaking.

My friends, I have here been merely making assertions to you, on this latter topic in particular. In the "*Legacy to Parsons*" I have PROVED all that I have here asserted, and a great deal more. These establishments are now making a struggle for their existence: seeing that the Irish must give way, they endeavour to persuade you that a similar reason for giving way does not exist in England. They will not persuade you to believe any such thing; and I, in my little book, will furnish you with the proof that you ought not to yield to such persuasion.

I am, your friend

And faithful servant,

WM. COBBETT

On Monday, the 6. of April, the House of Commons went into committee on Lord JOHN RUSSELL'S resolution; and the debate, which I shall insert in another

part of this *Register*, concluded by a division of 262 for the resolution, and 237 against it, being a majority of twenty-five for the resolution. It appears that it was the intention of Lord JOHN RUSSELL to move, on the 7th, a resolution in the following words: "That it is the opinion of this House, that no tithe-bill can be effective in Ireland, unless it embodies the resolution which the House has adopted." The Minister pressed very hardy for the House to suffer him to pass certain estimates, which was done after the debate was over.

There appears to be some ambiguity in the expressions of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, with respect to his future intentions, as to this proceeding. His words, as reported by the *Morning Chronicle*, were as follows:

"Lord JOHN RUSSELL, as far as he was concerned, should not resist the course proposed, but he pledged himself no further. His Lordship then stated the course he proposed to take, supposing the House to agree to-night in committee to the resolution proposed, he should suggest that it be reported to-morrow; if the House should further agree to that report, he should follow it up by a resolution, 'that it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a final and satisfactory adjustment, which does not embody the principle conveyed in the resolution.' If, at the conclusion of the debate, it should appear that the motion was not satisfactory to a majority of the House, he should then proceed, as he before gave notice, by moving on the succeeding day an Address to the Crown. He should not, however, move such an Address till he had moved and failed in the resolution."

The remarks of the *True Sun* newspaper upon this are worthy of attention. The editor of that paper very justly suspects the intentions of the Whigs, though he could not refrain from putting me upon a "black list," because I suspected them. For my part, I always suspect them; and, if I did not, after the experience that I have had, I should be Nature's fool. I will first insert these

remarks of the *True Sun*, and then state my own opinion of the matter.

"The additional resolution which Lord John Russell promises to move this evening, when the report of the committee upon his first declaratory resolution respecting church property shall have formally received the sanction of the House, will go very near to the consummation of the victory over the Ministers, and to put down the faction for ever. Gratified as we are with the boldness and the tact of the noble Lord in this new step, by which he throws out the Tory tithe-bill by anticipation, we are yet left in some little uneasiness and impatience for the result, by his ambiguous explanations, of his ultimate intention as to the Address, which, after all, we look upon as indispensable to the fulfilment of his pledges, to the satisfaction of the country, and to the final and complete destruction of the robber-faction. If Lord John, having carried his first resolution through all its stages, succeeds, as no doubt he will succeed, in carrying the additional resolution founded upon it, and *if he there stop*, then there will still be a chance remaining for the Ministers, after all, to go on with their tithe-bill, disputing clause by clause, from week to week, to the end of the session, and there let it drop; getting from the complaisant Whigs, in the mean time, sufficient accommodation for carrying on the public business, upon undoubted good faith that they will not 'unnecessarily' delay the tithe-bill. We may not be justified in surmising that Lord John would cheat us so, or allow himself to be thus cheated. But we do not find a sufficiently explicit statement of his ultimate intentions in these words, with which his answer to Sir R. Peel last night ends, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle*:

"If at the conclusion of the debate it shall appear that this resolution is not satisfactory to a majority of the House, I shall then proceed, as I before gave notice that I should proceed, by moving on the succeeding day an Address to the Crown. I shall not, however, move any Address to the Crown until I have moved

"and failed in the resolution I have just read."

"Now this does not tell us whether or not he will move the Address, if the second resolution be carried. He rather appears *designedly* to avoid giving us that information, with the evasiveness of a skilful parliamentary tactician. If he will not move the Address, he will give full confirmation to the rumour to which we alluded yesterday, and he will establish the truth of those charges which have been made against him of imprudently or dishonestly closetting himself with Sir R. Peel, and yielding to the Premier's treacherous policy. Undoubtedly we shall have gained, even thus, the solemn recognition of two principles, one abstract and the other practical, of the greatest possible importance to our social and political regeneration. But we shall have lost, for a time at least, the opportunity, now within our reach, of carrying them into active operation, and of putting an immediate end to the political distractions of Ireland, and of, in some degree, alleviating the physical misery of her people. Besides, who will pretend to calculate the mischiefs which the Tories, now driven to desperation, may be enabled to effect, by one session's duration, of their power? And we seriously believe that they would have a very great chance of struggling through a session, if an end be not put at once to their career by the Address. Yet if this probability were not so apparent, as it seems to us, the noble Lord must be an unlearned as well as an inexperienced leader, if he is not aware how dangerous it is to give breathing time to a beaten adversary, and not to follow up successive victories to final triumph. In this case it is the more important to avoid the Capuan error and to press at once upon the defenceless capital of the enemy, because the question is of such deep interest to a vast portion of the people, that, if the Ministers had the rashness to dissolve Parliament upon the carrying of the Address, they would find themselves the authors of an agitation more fatal to them than that of O'Con-

nell has been to the Irish section of their party. Indeed we can hardly believe that they would venture upon such a step—Lord John's timidity need not tremble for the result. But if he let pass the present glorious occasion, and rallying afterwards in the course of the session upon other questions, drive Ministers, by other overthrows, to have recourse to dissolution the country would not look upon it as such an insult to the House of Commons, as dissolution upon the Address—the excitement will have passed away—and, as the Tories were so successful at the last elections, when they were not very well prepared, it is not at all improbable that, under the circumstances, which we have supposed, they would obtain a considerable majority. For neither the money nor the army of the State would be wanting to their assistance, and we would have the scenes of the last Carlow election re-enacted in many an English borough."

Now it does appear strange, that Lord JOHN RUSSELL should have changed his course. The additional resolution which he now proposes is neither more nor less than a repetition, and nothing but a repetition of the resolution of Monday night. Why not, therefore, move and carry the Address to the King, without this additional resolution? I do not believe that there is any compromise in contemplation, but I do believe that there is great misgiving and timidity on the part of the Whigs. They know that they can turn out the Ministers, with the aid of the Radicals; but they also know, that they cannot remain in themselves without the aid of those same Radicals; that is to say, a mass of members, who will support no Ministers, and who will suffer no Ministers to have power, if they can help it, who will not consent to a *very great change* with regard to the church, and with regard to the expenditure generally. There exists a conviction in the minds of all men of sense that one of two things must now take place: this *very great change*, effected by the Parliament itself; or a convulsive, and perhaps destructive movement of the people. All men do not clearly see the causes of this dilemma,

but all men see and feel the effects; and all who are not under the influence of particular interests, or of party-motives, are for the change being effected by the Parliament itself. Whig and Tory have little influence with such men; they do not listen to the battles of debate with much attention; they are sometimes influenced by circumstances of the moment, but they steadily persevere in their wishes to effect the change.

During the debate in the committee it was asserted by Lord CHANDOS and Mr. SCARLETT, that, if another dissolution of Parliament were to take place in consequence of this resolution, the people, *seeing the church in danger*, would return a majority to support it. The old saying of persuading one to believe that "the moon is made of green cheese" is quite within the compass of probability, when we hear gentlemen like these declaring that they believe that the people of England would send a majority to Parliament, expressly to support the church; expressly to support Sir ROBERT PEEL, merely because he opposes the taking away of tithes from parsons in Ireland, who have no flocks! Do Mr. SCARLETT and Lord CHANDOS know, that during these three sessions of the reformed Parliament not less than five hundred petitions at the least from parishes, and some from counties, of England, have been presented, praying for the abolition of all English tithes? Do these gentlemen recollect the Devonshire petition, agreed to at the largest county meeting, perhaps, ever known in Devonshire, at which, in spite of the efforts of the noble Lord EBRINGTON (a member for the county, and so popular in it), a petition was agreed to, not only praying for an abolition of tithes, but for a dissolution of church from state? Lancashire and Yorkshire send sixty three members to the House of Commons. Out of the sixty-three they would not send ten at the utmost who would dare to say, that they would oppose an abolition of tithes, even in England. Let the Parliament be dissolved, then, and let the people be told that the Minister wants a majority to prevent the abolition of tithes, and let the candidates come with "TITHES FOR EVER," or "NO TITHES," on their

banners; let this be, and the whole of the tithes of England would be abolished, root and branch, in less than a year. Men differ in their opinions about all other things, but, with the exception of the parties immediately interested, there is no difference of opinion here.

I agree with Lord CHANDOS, that, if this step be taken, further steps must; and with regard to England too, as well as Ireland; for while there is, as stated in a petition lately presented by me, a parish in Norfolk, which pays in tithes two hundred pounds a year, and which has neither church nor parson; and while, as I have shown, in my "*Legacy to Parsons*," there are more than two hundred parishes in England in this state, with neither church nor parson, it would be contemptibly whimsical to suppose, that the resolution of Lord JOHN RUSSELL would not, and must not, apply itself to England; and the noble Lord CHANDOS must have forgotten himself, when he was supposing that the people of England were prepared to send men to Parliament for the express purpose of compelling them to pay tithes without church and without parson.

Mr. SCARLETT, as the newspaper-report says, contended that there was *no precedent* for directing any part of the church-property from its general *object*! Gracious God! and he a *lawyer*, I believe; and having all the Acts of HENRY the Eighth, of EDWARD the Sixth, and of ELIZABETH, before him, *upon the table*, and knowing, as he did, or as he ought, that the Irish Parliament, sanctioned by the English Parliament, absolutely abolished the *agistment* of tithes in Ireland, which remain abolished unto this day. This Mr. SCARLETT is precisely the sort of man that stands in absolute need of my book. Folios and quartos are too much for him. It is hunting there after two grains of wheat in the bushel of chaff. In my "*Legacy to Parsons*" there is *nothing but wheat*; and not a grain too few, nor a grain too many. There is all the law relative to this church; and he can carry it all in his waistcoat; or, if he like that better, in the pocket of his pantaloons. Why, such a book, to *such a lawyer*, is a fortune. He sits down, after

breakfast, so ignorant of the law, as to assert that there is no precedent for alienating church-property; and before twelve o'clock, he is a "*learned Friend*"; aye, and *my* learned Friend, too, if he have one particle of gratitude in his soul. The cost is only eighteen pence. Oh! how well those eighteen pennies would have been expended by him, before he made this speech.

In another part of his speech, he is reported to have said, that, "when the people of England heard the cry of 'NO REPEAL,' 'NO APPROPRIATION,' they would respond in a manner decidedly favourable to the church; they would return with joy, a majority of 'Conservatives'!" This Mr. SCARLETT is, doubtless, a *young* man: *very young*, I hope; or, at least, I should hope so, if I had the honour to be his father; yet the law insists upon his being *twenty-one*, before he can be a Member of Parliament; and one would hope that the newspaper reporter must have been in error; must have been drunk, or mad, to impute assertions or opinions like these to a person twenty-one years of age. I myself do not impute them to him, and I beg leave to be understood as remarking, not upon his words, but upon a publication which I find in a newspaper. Would to God, that a dissolution were tried upon this question; for that would settle all church-disputes in both countries for ever, and take in the Kirk of Scotland, by way of episode.

Sir ROBERT PEEL, however, knows better than this: he knows better than to dissolve the Parliament upon the question of TITHES, or NO TITHES; ecclesiastical dues, or no dues; ecclesiastical rents, or no rents; church-rates, or no church-rates: he knows better than that: he knows that that is the very thing I want to see; and he suspects, I dare say, that I want to see nothing having a tendency to uphold this church, with all its monstrous and incurable abuses, and all the manifold evils which it entails upon the country, and which it must entail upon the country, as long as it exists.

ADDRESS TO SIR R. PEEL.

It appears that a parcel of bankers and stock-dealers, such as MASTERMAN, LYALL, SAUNDERSON, and one of the BARINGS, presented an ADDRESS to Sir ROBERT PEEL the day before yesterday, urging him *to remain in his post*; just as if he will not remain there if he *can*! This is, indeed, a very low affair. All the world will never make people believe, that these miserable money fellows were not set to work by himself; that is to say, by his own immediate friends and adherents. If MASTERMAN and his troop were to take their oaths to the contrary, going down upon their bare knees at the time, nobody would believe that this was not the case. This, therefore, is not only a very low thing, but a very foolish thing; and as to the *people in general*, the bare circumstance of the Address being presented by these London money-mongers is quite enough to make them at once hate and despise it; and it will be lucky for him if they do not carry their hatred and contempt to the object of the Address!

Oh! do we not so well remember the forty years' addresses of these London money-men? Do we not remember all their addresses in favour of PITT and his French war? Do we not remember their addresses of approbation and of thanks to the Parliament and to the Minister upon the passing of every suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and of every act for dungeoning and gagging of the people? Do we not know them well; and does Sir ROBERT PEEL expect to find a shield in this hated crew? does he expect to get safe shelter under the shirts and the gaberdines of these men?

He must see, and feel, how very low this is; and it shows how desperate he deems his situation. What! stand up to render an account of his conduct to this crew! to tell *them* what have been his motives, and what his conduct shall be! To make professions of disinterestedness *to them*; and to conclude with a melancholy appeal to posterity! And this addressed to them, too, each of whom came, doubtless, with a black pen stuck behind his ear; and, while he was explaining to

them his motives, his principles, and the feelings with which he looks back upon his conduct, every man of them was, I dare say, lost in calculations of the sums that he makes every year by the judicious employment of his immense masses of money; thinking and caring no more about his principles, his professions, or his feelings, than they cared about the feelings of any three boards on the floor. We have not the Address of these fellows, that I know of; but we have his answer, which, to crown the whole, he has permitted to be published as follows:

The London Address to Sir Robert Peel, said by the *Albion* to be signed by 8,457 persons, was presented on Saturday morning by a deputation, consisting of the following gentlemen: J. Masterman, Esq., George Lyall, Esq., Sir J. R. Reid, Bart., M.P., A. Chapman, Esq., M.P., Wm. Ward, Esq., Thos. Wilson, Esq., R. Saunderson, Esq., M.P., T. Baring, Esq., M.P.

The first of these gentlemen having presented it to Sir Robert Peel, the Premier gave his answer in the following terms:

"Gentlemen,—The best return which I can make for the very gratifying and encouraging assurance of approbation and confidence which are contained in this Address, will be a frank declaration of the principles on which I have acted, in having hitherto persevered, under circumstances of unusual embarrassment, in the attempt to conduct through Parliament the measures recommended to its consideration by the Crown. When I was unexpectedly summoned from abroad in December last to assist his Majesty in the formation of a new Ministry, I did not feel myself justified in withholding from the King my humble services; and the same motives which induced me to obey his Majesty's commands in the first instance, satisfied me that it was equally incumbent upon me to make every effort, in strict accordance with the spirit and letter of the constitution, to overcome the many difficulties that were inseparable from the arduous undertaking. I well know that no administration can hope to

conduct the affairs of this country, from which the good-will and confidence of the representatives of the people are, after mature consideration, withheld. But though the proceedings at the commencement of the session were not very encouraging, still I was in hopes that the proposal of measures founded upon the principle of maintaining and improving the ancient institutions of the country, would procure for the Government that degree of support from the House of Commons, which might enable them to bring these measures under full and dispassionate consideration.

"In submitting to occasional disappointments and defeats, I have acted on the sincere belief, that in the present state of political parties, and the present position of some great public questions, I was not justified in abandoning the trust which I had undertaken, and compelling another change of administration, without some clear and manifest necessity. I have acted also under an impression, that the House of Commons was influenced in some degree by similar considerations, so long as it did not attempt to mark, by any specific resolution, its want of confidence in the Government, or to enforce any great public principle at direct variance with the declared sentiments of that Government.

"Under any circumstances, I never can look back with other feelings than those of the greatest satisfaction upon the discharge of a public trust which has procured for me the proud testimony of esteem and confidence which you have this day placed in my hands. I can say with truth, that the only rewards which I seek for the labours and sacrifices which public life imposes, are the approbation of a gracious Sovereign, and that impartial judgment which will ultimately be formed upon the motives and actions of public men, when the events that are now passing shall be viewed from a greater distance, and through a medium unobscured by the passions and interests which, at the period of their occurrence, they naturally excite."

Now, can he think that this will serve him with the people of England, or of any part of the kingdom? If he can, all that I can say is, that his end must be such (unless the Whigs be false) as to make him curse Lord ALTHORP for not agreeing to my motion to put him out of the Privy Council for ever. God bless the man! Why the people will laugh at this, from one end of the country to another. "Difficulties," the people will exclaim, "what difficulties have you, which are not of your own making"? Who created your embarrassments but yourself? Every man knows, that you have been the great cause of the present miseries and troubles of the country. And, with regard to the Poor Law Bill, every one knows that it could not have been passed, without your will. So that, from the ruined farmer and tradesman down to the lowest labourer, they all know that the difficulties are your own. And so far from having a tendency to prop you up, this London Address, and your answer to it, will have a tendency to make your fall as bad as it can be for your own reputation. Your conduct with regard to the resolution was such as became your station and your talents; but to flee to these wretched creatures to shelter you is every thing that words can express, low and despicable; and in the combination of qualities which it comprises, excessive folly is the least disgusting ingredient.

TAKING THE VOTES.

A COMMITTEE has reported to the House of Commons, that the names of the Members voting ought to be taken officially and printed by the authority of the House, upon any question where such taking and printing is demanded by two Members. Nothing can possibly be more desirable than this; for I do not know any one thing that would give the people so much confidence in the honesty and sincerity of Members of Parliament. Left as the thing is now, any Member (who would condescend to use the means) may have his name sent forth to the country as having voted *for*, that which

he has voted *against*; or against that which he has voted *for*.

I proved that, in the case of the division on the malt-tax, the impudent and profligate *Times* newspaper had, in the two lists of the minority and majority, a greater number of members by sixty, than were in the House, according to the printed account of the House; and that great numbers who voted against the repeal of the malt-tax were set down as having *voted for the repeal*. If the press can commit one offence greater than another, against the privileges of the House, this is that very offence; and the press thus has the power totally to misrepresent to the constituents the conduct of the Members; to screen the conduct of some, and to destroy the character of others. With regard to its misreporting of speeches, a great deal is to be overlooked: it is there, a check upon itself; for one paper reports that which another does not. But, in the other case, any paper has the power of screening, or of destroying, in its hands: the names go forth; they are read; men look no further, and the injury is done. I do, therefore, hope that the recommendation of this honest and sensible committee will be adopted by the House without loss of time. It is what no Member can object to; for no one will say, that he ever gives a vote that he is ashamed of.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

TRIFOLIUM INCARNATUM

AND

OTHER GRASSES.

MUCH interest was excited last spring by an account that had been published of the excellence of the *Trifolium Incarnatum*, or Italian clover. It was represented as a thing to be sowed *after wheat*, and as yielding a fine crop fit to cut up for horses, in the month of May. I had some seed from Liverpool, for which I did not pledge myself, and which proved to be of a good-for-nothing sort; but I had also some seed of the true *Incarnatum*, which I gathered from the plants in the Isle of Wight; and the in-

teresting questions were: first, whether the *Trifolium Incarnatum* would stand the winter in England; and, next, whether, if it did stand the winter, it would produce a greater crop to be cut up for horses in the month of May, than the broad clover. We heard of very fine crops of the *Incarnatum* last summer; of beautiful fields of it; and, I dare say, that they were beautiful enough; for the plant has long been cultivated in the flower-gardens for its long stalks of beautiful red flowers. But, it was for the fields, and for the horses, that we wanted it; and, I have given it a full and fair trial against the broad clover, and against other grasses, the result of which trial I am now about to state.

On the 19. of May last, I sowed, in good and clean ground, a patch of the *Trifolium*, one of broad clover, and one of *Lucerne*. The *Lucerne* I cut four times last summer, each time about two feet high; the broad clover I cut twice; but those two cuttings exceeded the four cuttings of the *Lucerne* in weight. The *Trifolium* I suffered to get to its full height, and be in bloom. It did not yield in weight a fourth part of the weight of the broad clover; and the plants died at once, proving the plant to be an annual as much as wheat is an annual; while the broad clover, after its two cuttings, went on to shoot again, stood the winter, and is now (8th of April) very flourishing, and about four inches high; and, as to the *Lucerne*, it is, at this time, eighteen inches high; will be in bloom by the first week in May, with a prodigious weight of crop.

Gentlemen will perceive that my ground is good, warm, and early; but they will also perceive, that the *Trifolium Incarnatum* had the same ground as the other plants. It was precisely the same, for the *Incarnatum* stood between the two others.

But, the *Incarnatum* was to be sown after wheat; that is to say, in the month of August, or September. Now, on the 28. of last August, I sowed, in clean ground, without manure, but very good ground, twenty-six sorts of plants called grasses, the four first of which were, the broad clover, the *Trifolium Incarnatum*,

White Dutch clover, and *Lucerne*. At this moment the broad clover, and the White Dutch clover, are five inches high, and exceedingly flourishing; the *Lucerne* is a foot high, and rather more; the *Trifolium Incarnatum* hardly rises boldly up from the ground; and, if cut, would not weigh a sixth part of either of the other three. Here is same time of sowing; same ground, precisely; same winter to stand; same spring to start in. I shall let all these plants stand as they are until the first week in May; and then cut them and weigh them; but I need do nothing more, and see nothing more, than I have already done and seen, to convince me that this plant will not be cultivated in England, except in the flower-gardens.

This experiment has convinced me, that to sow broad clover in clean and good land, after wheat, is the way to have abundant crops of green food to cut up in May. However, this is another matter.

COMMUTATION OF TITHES.

IN another part of the *Register* is a letter from a correspondent, which I recommend to the attention of my readers. The scheme is really a piece of nonsense. It can do good to nobody, except as it may serve to convince all the world that the church can be no longer upheld. How is there to be a commutation of *personal tithes*? I was surprised to see in Sir ROBERT PEEL'S manifesto, that he thought a commutation of tithes necessary to the *harmony* between the clergy and the people. What! find this out at the end of twelve hundred years! And why necessary to this *harmony*? Why, because the people every where are become impatient to the last degree, under a burden, which, in former times, the people deemed no burden at all, and which was not a burden to the people in Catholic times; and not an unbearable burden until the state of the church became what it now is. In the time of the Commonwealth a commutation of tithes was proposed by some, and an abolition by others. The restoration of CHARLES the Second put a stop to these propositions;

but Sir HENRY SPELMAN had shown that the propositions were synonymous in effect; for that, commutation would, in fact, put an end to tithes; that they would be no longer tithes, and that, having changed their nature by law, a law would soon be found to abolish them altogether. The Reverend Mr. POULTER, father of the Member for SHAFTESBURY, showed me in the year 1800, a printed paper, suggesting a general *compulsory composition* for tithes; and I remember that I said to him: "You mean to put down the church, then, I suppose." Lord ELDON, who was then Attorney-General, I think, opposed the scheme, while PITT was for the scheme; and I remember how the church-and-king people (to whom I then belonged) used to revile PITT as an enemy of the church.

The fact is, the clergy saw, even then, that their power was shaken; and now they see clearly, that they cannot take the tithes, *as tithes*, but a very little longer. They are, therefore, for *changing the name and the form of the thing*, in order that the people may give them as much as they give them now, without perceiving what they give it for. This is the true history of the matter. The attempt at commutation will fail as to its intended purpose; but it is another step in the march of this church downwards. In short, thirty millions annually, to be paid for interest of debt; five millions more for an army and its trappings to insure the means of paying this interest: these cannot co-exist with this established church. It is these burdens which have aroused men to an attention with regard to the church and its demands: it is these burdens which have drawn forth the complaints against the church: it is they that have set inquiry on foot: it is that pressure, which is felt coming from every direction, which will not suffer this church to exist in the quiet enjoyment of its immense revenues any longer. If the aristocracy (to whom, in fact, the church belongs) were to *give way at once*, the consequences might not be so very destructive: it is the struggle, whence the danger arises: it is the struggle, which is sure in the end, to extend much more widely than is contemplated, even by

those who are struggling for the change. The project of a commutation of tithes is a sort of manoeuvre in this struggle: it is a crafty *ruse de guerre*: but it will not succeed, and will only serve to convince the other party, that the church is conscious of its weakness, and of its inability openly to maintain its ground.

LEGACY TO PARSONS

Will be published on the 18. April.

It may have seemed to many persons, that I have, during this session, neglected my duty in Parliament. Until very recently I was too hoarse to be heard distinctly, six yards from me; but I have been performing a duty, which, when this little book is before them, will convince the people, that I could have done nothing that man can do equal in point of public importance to that which I have done since this Parliament met. The Minister has a commission sitting, of which he himself is a member, in order to prepare a plan of "*church reform*," to be submitted to the Parliament; and, before we see that plan; and, especially, before we discuss it, we ought to know all about this church, from its very birth to the present hour; more especially we ought to know what is its present state; what are the nature and magnitude of those abuses which it is now proposed to grapple with and to correct.

The people of England really know nothing about this church: no man that has ever meddled with it through the press has ever done more than baffled against detachments of this phalanx of abuse. Hundreds upon hundreds of volumes have been written and published by Dissenters, without any attempt to go to the *bottom* of the thing; and without, therefore, producing any effect sufficient to induce men to press for a correction of the abuses. I have begun at the beginning, and ended at the end; I have not moved a step without undoubted authority at my back. Even the clever men amongst the Dissenters (and these are in prodigious numbers) will be stricken with astonishment at what they read, as I myself have been while writing the book. The truth

is, that, in such cases, we lay hold, from time to time, of particular parcels or branches of abuse; and, leaving the other branches untouched, we seem to admit that this is all that we have to complain of; and thus it is that the Dissenters have proceeded for nearly three hundred years.

I have brought the whole mass of abuses into a small compass, and laid them before the public, that they may fairly see them all at once. We hear the words "separation of church from state," without one thousandth part of us knowing the meaning of the words, as thus used. We see petitions against a separation of church from state, signed by men who would have run their hands into a fiery furnace rather than put them to those petitions, if they had known the meaning of the words. We heard Lord DURHAM tell the Dissenters that he could not agree to a separation of church from state, that connexion being necessary for the religious instruction of the people. Lord DURHAM will never repeat those words after one month from the day of the publication of this book. Lord GREY told Mr. FIELDEN and me, when we had the honour to wait upon him with a memorial from the Dissenters, our constituents, and when I frankly stated to him my opinion that nothing short of a separation of church from state would finally satisfy the memorialists, he told us, that he never could consent to that. Lord GREY knew no more about the real state of this church, at that moment, than he knew about what was passing in the moon. BLOMFIELD and the other bishops, who are associated with Sir ROBERT PEEL and the Lord Chancellor in the Church-reform Commission, do *know something about it*; but, even after the commission has made its report, Sir ROBERT PEEL, and even the Chancellor, will hardly have got a glimpse at here and there a part of this mystery of prodigious abuse. I repeat, that I, who began looking into the affairs of this church thirty-two years ago; who then predicted that the Act 43rd Geo. III. chapter 84, would prove the utter overthrow of the establishment; I repeat, that even I had but a faint idea of the

enormity of this mass of abuses, until I traced to their origin, and hunted them along, inch by inch, to the present hour.

I defy any man to read this little book, to be a sincere man, and to say that he believes that this church, which was made by acts of Parliament, ought not to be repealed by acts of Parliament. Here is the whole of the law; the whole of the causes that have produced that which it will startle the reader to behold; and, though it may seem to be very presumptuous, I say that no man is fit to take a part in the discussion of the question of church reform, who does not well know the contents of this little book. The book consists of 182 small pages; it may be attentively read in four hours; and before the reader gets to the end, he will have exclaimed a thousand times: "This church never can be reformed." It is the very greatest abuse that ever existed in the whole world; and every one who reads the book will say the same. I say of it, in parodying the words of MACDUFF, relative to MACBETH: "Let this abuse face this book, and if it then escape, may God forgive it too!"

A NEW PLAY.

I HAVE just published, price sixpence, my Comedy of "SURPLUS POPULATION AND THE POOR-LAW BILL," which I have given a player leave to act, in any place wherever he may like to go. He has first acted it for the diversion of the chopsticks of NORMANDY, and those of the villages round about. When he gets *strength*, he proposes to go to the country towns; and to make his way to HAVANT in Hampshire, then to CHICHESTER, and along through the towns into Sussex, and then into Kent; and I beg my friends in those parts, if they have a mind for a little fun, amidst their miseries, to afford him their countenance, and give him a little aid, if necessary. There is no law against our laughing, even if we have hungry bellies. The title of the play, and the characters are as follows; and, if any one has a mind to read the play, which, I can assure

him, is as well calculated for the closet as the stage, he will find it at Bolt-court, neatly printed for sixpence.

**SURPLUS POPULATION:
AND
POOR-LAW BILL.
A COMEDY, IN THREE ACTS.**

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P.

THE CHARACTERS.

Men.

SIR GRIPE GRINDUM, of Grindum Hall, in the County of Grindum, Baronet.

PETER THIMBLE, Esq., a great Anti-Population Philosopher.

FARMER STILES.

TOM STILES, Nephew of Farmer Stiles.

DICK HAZLE, Servant to Stiles.

BAREBONE, Man of all Work to Sir Gripe.

TOM BIRCH, Brother of Betsey Birch.

JACK HARROW, **NED MAPLE**, and other Country Fellows.

BLUDGEON, **GUZZLE**, and **SLANG**, three London Bullies.

Waiter, Boys, &c.

Women.

BETSEY BIRCH, going to be married to Dick Hazle.

MRS. BIRCH, her Mother, who is a Widow.

MRS. STILES, Wife of the Farmer.

PATTY PRIMROSE, **MARY VIOLET**, and other Country Girls.

Scene.

The Village of **NESTBED**, in the County of **GRINDUM**.

I think I see the slip-shod critics of **DRURY LANE**, and t'other place, the name of which I have forgotten, turn up their noses at this, and express their astonishment that a clod-thumping politician like me should dare to think of writing a play! Let them read my play, if they can read; and, if not, get their wives or mistresses to read it to them; but let them, if they can beg their way down into Surrey or Sussex, come and see my play acted, and hear the country girls laugh till they are ready to tumble off the benches, when they hear **PETER THIMBLE**, Esq. recommending "*moral restraint*"; and when they hear **SIR GRIPE GRINDUM** asking the Squire for his "*Remedy against Breeding*." However, I shall not anticipate the pleasure of those who are to read, or witness the acting of, this Comedy.

"COMMUTATION OF TITHES."

TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR,—So many years have elapsed since I wrote in your journal, that I cannot suppose it probable you should recollect the signature or even the name of your correspondent "the Old Englishman," nor is it likely that under the joint influence of old age and ill health I shall much trouble you in future.

My present object is to draw your attention to an important public measure, which as it seems to me is very imperfectly understood; I allude to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan, "for the commutation of tithes," taking that plan to be in substance as reported in the *Chronicle* and *Herald* of the 25th ult.

It is introduced in a speech of considerable length, distinguished by all that plausibility and apparent candour which characterise the speeches of that eminent person, and in the outset we are given to understand, he *abandons the compulsory system of his predecessors*, in exchange for what he terms a system of "*voluntary agreement*." For this his reasons are short enough; at all events one most material reason seems to me to be omitted, namely, that under the compulsory system the party compelling must, step by step as he proceeds, demonstrate his being in the right; whereas under the voluntary system, it may be pretty safely counted upon, that if the parties can be set to work upon a subject of great difficulty, the bearings of which it is impossible they should understand, there is all the reason in the world to believe, before they get to the end of their labours, they will cut their own throats.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's machinery commences by the tithe-payers of each parish being called together; and as he could not but foresee (nor but that others would also see) that this was sure to lead in many instances to all manner of collusion and knavery, he, much to his credit, evinces an amiable anxiety to oppose the most effectual checks to any thing of that sort.

1st. No agreement can be entered into, unless two-thirds of the meeting in value concur; this, to say the truth, in itself is one of the slightest checks that can well

be conceived, because unless something had been mended; but on ceasing to be like a majority of this kind could be secured, it would be next to impossible to carry a job; and therefore, 2dly, a further check (and that of some value) is interposed, by giving the meeting the aid of the attendance and advice of an assistant commissioner, who, according to the speech is to be "a man of knowledge," we presume a barrister. But if two-thirds of the meeting concur in the agreement, then for the sake of economy the assistant commissioner's attendance may be dispensed with.

Oh! economy, how is thy name profaned!

In the name of common sense can it be supposed that if the two-thirds have carried a job, they will ever consent to write to London for the attendance of an assistant commissioner, whose arrival would be certain destruction to all their schemes? There really is in this part of Sir Robert Peel's plan, what may be termed an innocent ignorance of human nature that in an old statesman is refreshing. Check the first therefore is of small value; and check the second not worth one farthing.

But then comes check the third. No agreement to be valid until approved of by a Board of Commissioners in London, which board is to consist of a commissioner, named by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of the church, and two others by his Majesty's Ministers (between whom and the church, if we mistake not, there is just now great kindness; in fact, a sort of Caledonian contract; scratch me, and I will scratch you). Now we cannot say we much admire that sort of justice, which, when A and B are going to law, enables B to nominate his own jury. Indeed according to the plan as it now stands one hardly sees how the chief commissioners, if ever so anxious so to do, can properly do justice. The agreement is to be submitted to them; be it so. But it will hardly contain its own condemnation on the face of it; never fear but the outside of the platter will be clean enough. The fraud and trick and collusion will be kept out of sight. Voltaire called us the savages of Europe; doubtless since his time our manners have

been mended; but on ceasing to be savages, I suspect we have become Pharaohs, something like the old Yankees, godly given, but wickedly bent.

It appears to me that the parish meetings have an undoubted right to deal both with the law and fact of all that comes before them; indeed the power of referring to arbitration is given to them, which by necessary implication invests them with authority to so deal. The jobbing majority have nothing to do but to refer all matters to their own arbitrators; and no species of iniquity that can be imagined, but what may be completely covered from all inquiry.

Take the case of a modus. We need hardly point out, that under what is called Lord Tenterden's act, no modus can be affected when it has been in force for sixty years (provided three incumbencies have taken place within that period, and provided the fourth incumbent does not, within a limited time, contest the modus); now, this protection hundreds of parishes now enjoy—a protection of which they may be stripped by a majority of a parish meeting assembled under the new act, who, beyond all doubt, under this most extraordinary project, may waive the benefit of Lord Tenterden's act.

This is a precious premium for roguery!

In answer to a question from Sir R. Price, Sir Robert Peel is made to say, "that in every parish the parties will be at liberty to take as an *element* into their consideration, the uncertainty of the law." (See *Morning Herald*, 25 March). If a direct proposal had been made to repeal Lord Tenterden's act, it would have been scouted; but we have it done in the quietest manner possible, by a side wind, and that by a very curious process: 1st, The majority of a parish meeting are empowered in their discretion to abridge or abrogate, not only their own, but the freehold rights of their neighbours—rights, in most instances, depending on very nice questions. Now, as the history of English legislation affords no example of any thing resembling this; to prevent alarm, the parade of inventing checks was in-

dispensably necessary. What their value is, we have shown; but, lest they should be of any value, the plan in its progress most ingeniously contrives to supply the means of defeating its own avowed objects.

This is really too bad!

If the plan goes forward, will the church be benefited? In point of revenue, it certainly will; but will it terminate dissension? On this point, its author, in so many words, tells us, "He apprehends that nearly as many questions will arise under the present plan, as under the existing law." (See *Morning Chronicle*, 25. March last). If Sir Robert had said "more dissatisfaction" would arise, we should be inclined to agree with him; but, if by questions arising are meant suits, we disagree with him; for, though courts will still exist, the clergy will have the keys in their pockets; the law, in fact, will be swept away! The best security of the church is founded on long habit, acknowledged utility, and the affection of the people; for which, under this plan, we exchange novelty, injustice, and bitter animosity. Pandora's box will be opened—who will shut it!

The subject is one of much difficulty, and it would require more time than we have to bestow, and more information than we can collect at the moment, to suggest the machinery indispensably necessary to make this plan work even tolerably; but "en passant" we would suggest it would benefit matters a little, if any person or persons composing the minority of the parish meeting possessing titheable property among them, say of the value of 5000*l.*, should be at liberty to insist, previous to any agreements being entered into, upon the attendance and assistance (at the parish expense) of the assistant commissioner, and, further, that when the agreement was transmitted, the chief commissioners should give a reasonable (say twenty-one days) notice of the time and place when and where, previous to the confirmation thereof, they would publicly hear any objections that all or any of the parties might have against the same, or any part thereof, being confirmed. We are far from saying these improved

checks would be sufficient, but they at least approximate to fair examination. We profess to have nothing to do with the motives of men; to Sir Robert Peel we are strangers. He may be what is called a very cunning man (which does not necessarily mean a wise man), or he may be a perfect Nathaniel or Israelite without guile, but we fasten and comment upon the measure, as it at this moment presents itself before us, not only as extremely rash and pregnant with danger, but put together so clumsily, that if it were in itself good for anything, it would in working, either break down, or breaking loose would spread devastation and ruin all around it, which in common fairness we will say we believe to be quite foreign to the intention of the author.

If a bill be brought into Parliament to carry this scheme into effect, every clause will require the closest attention.

AN OLD ENGLISHMAN.

London, 2nd April, 1835.

PENENDEN HEATH PETITION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the people of Kent in county meeting convened on Penenden Heath, this 24. day of October, 1828,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, called together by the High Sheriff of the county for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of petitioning Parliament to adopt such measures as are best calculated to support the Protestant establishment in church and state; and being of opinion that neither church nor state stands at this time in estimation as high as that in which they might stand, hope that your honourable House will not deem them presumptuous if they beg leave to be permitted to point out to your honourable House the measures which they deem best calculated to insure the important object propounded to them by the High Sheriff.

That, with regard to the church esta-

blishment, your humble petitioners perceive a great and growing lukewarmness towards it, an unpopularity approaching towards loathing and hatred, and a rapid and constantly increasing decline in the numbers of its flocks, whilst those of the Catholics, and of every description of Dissenters, are increasing in a like proportion; a fact which clearly shows that the church owes no part of its decline to a want of religious feeling amongst the people.

That your humble petitioners are convinced that this lukewarmness, unpopularity and disgust, have arisen, not so much from any general and rooted dislike to the doctrines and ritual of the establishment, as from the conduct of a considerable part of its clergy, and more especially from the flagrant misapplication of its immense temporalities.

That, with respect to the conduct of the clergy, your humble petitioners, while they would fain obliterate from their own memory, as well as from that of all mankind, many deeds, from the punishment due to which the dignified parties have been shamefully screened, cannot disguise from themselves, and will not disguise from your honourable House, that the beneficed clergy, in general, have become lax in their manners and their morals, given in an immoderate degree to luxurious enjoyment, habitually spending their time in places of fashionable, not to say criminal, resort, and, as if this island were a sphere too limited as a scope for dissipation, quitting the kingdom in great numbers, thus drawing from their parishes (more than one-half of which they hold in pluralities) a great part of their substance to be expended upon their own pleasures, while the cure of the parishes is left to stipendiaries, who, from the miserable pittance they receive, are wholly unable to perform even the smallest part of those duties of charity and hospitality, to ensure the constant performance of which, as well as for the teaching of the doctrines of religion, the revenues of the church were granted.

That it is well known to your honourable House that all the temporal possessions of the church, whether tithes,

glebes, college lands, abbey lands, or of what description soever, were founded on the basis of charity, and were granted, not to the clergy for their own use, but *in trust* for the good of the nation at large, and, especially, for the relief and the comfort of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger; and that it is also well known to your honourable House, that in Catholic times, there were no poor-rates, no church-rates, and no paupers, and that the poor were relieved, the strangers assisted, and the churches built and repaired, out of the tithes and other revenues of the church; and that it is further well known to your honourable House, and but too well known to your humble petitioners, that the tithes, and the rest of the revenues of the church, have, by degrees, been entirely alienated from their original purposes; that the clergy now take the whole to themselves; and that the poor are relieved, the wandering stranger assisted, and the churches built and repaired, out of the taxes raised on your humble petitioners; which taxes, for the whole of England and Wales, amount annually to nearly eight millions sterling, of which, at the date of the last return, four hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds fell annually upon the county of Kent.

That your humble petitioners, sufficiently sore at reflecting upon these well-known facts, hardly know how to restrain their feelings, when they look at the present state of this their own country, so highly favoured by nature, once so renowned for its good living, its freedom, and its happiness; but now so depressed and pauperised by the heavy hand of taxation, and especially by the unmitigated and increasing exactions of the clergy; that, yet, even these they might bear with some degree of patience, if a due performance of religious duties were the consequence; but, when they see that the tithes of the 427 parishes of their county are in the hands of less than two hundred rectors and vicars, many of whom have prebends and other benefices in addition; when they see that eighty-seven of the parishes have no parsonage-houses that the luxurious and haughty incumbents think good enough

for them to reside in; when they see that there are seventy five parishes which have no parsonage houses at all; when they see that there are thirteen parishes which have absolutely no churches; when they behold this scene of abandonment, dilapidation, and devastation, and reflect, that at the same time, even in the parishes which have no churches, the tithes are exacted to the last blade of grass; and that there are forty-four parishes, each having less than one hundred people, and yet having tithes exacted from them with the utmost rigour; while your humble petitioners behold all this, and see themselves taxed at the same time, for the purpose of building new churches, to be put into the hands and to add to the revenues of these same clergy; when they thus behold and thus reflect, they do, they confess, feel their bosoms swell with feelings, from an expression of which they are restrained only because they can find no words commensurate with the nature and character of the case.

That, however, if your petitioners were so unjust and barbarous as to find, or so cowardly as to affect to find, consolation from reflecting that their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same hand on others, they might find such consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects, the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all the abuses above enumerated exist in a degree ten-fold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country, there are 3,403 parishes; that the tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 rectors and vicars, even the livings being only 515 in number, and that, of course, each parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that, of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 which have parsonage-houses, and that, consequently, there is but one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes; that, in the 3,403 parishes there are only 465 churches, so that there is but one church to seven parishes; that in this state of things the church of England people have become less and less in number, until, at last, there is not more than one person of that religion to every six

who are Catholics or Dissenters; that in many parishes there are not more than five or six churchmen in a parish, and that, in others, there are none at all; and that, yet, the Catholics and Dissenters, who, while they build and repair their own chapels and support their own ministers, are compelled to pay tithes exacted in the most rigorous manner, to a clergy whom they seldom see, and of whom they often know not the names, are harassed by the tithe proctors and by processes issued frequently by the parsons themselves, acting as magistrates, and are, by the proctors, aided by armed men, frequently stripped of every thing in the world, even to their last potato, and their last rag of clothing; so that, throughout whole districts, the wretched people, are, at times, reduced to a state of rage, produced by the cravings of hunger, and the feelings of revenge; that here your humble petitioners find the true cause of all the discontents, all the violences, all the horrid acts of blood, which are constantly making their appearance in that unhappy country; here, too, your humble petitioners see the cause of those laws passed of late years, for transporting Irishmen beyond the seas (and that, too, without Judge and Jury), for being out of their houses, for any fifteen minutes at one time, between sunset and sunrise; and here, also, your petitioners see the true cause that they themselves are compelled to pay heavy taxes for the support, in time of profound peace, of a large standing army, for which they can discover no real use other than that of keeping their Irish fellow-subjects in this horrible state of subjection, oppression, and degradation.

That, your humble petitioners, reserving, for the present, the prayer which they have to offer to your honourable House, relative to a remedy for the enormous abuses in the church, proceed now to state to your honourable House, that it is their decided opinion that the dangers which menace the state, arise solely from a want of reform in your honourable House, and that as to this source also they directly trace the above-mentioned conduct of the clergy, and the gross mis-

application of the temporalities of the church.

That your honourable House have now upon your table a petition, which you received from the hands of Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) in the year 1793; that in that petition it was asserted, that peers and other great men, only 154 in number, returned *at their own pleasure, a decided majority of your honourable House*, at the bar of which House the petitioners were ready to prove the truth of their assertions; that your honourable House received the petition, denied not the facts, but permitted not the petitioners to be heard at your bar; and that your humble petitioners, in this county meeting assembled, deem it to be perfectly notorious, that the state of the representation has not improved since the time when the aforesaid petition was presented to your honourable House.

That your humble petitioners would be filled with surprise and wonder at finding that they have to pay taxes to support hundreds upon hundreds of pensioned and sinecurist lords, ladies, and children, male and female, without it being in many cases, even pretended that they, or that any one belonging to them, have ever rendered any service to the country; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that while the nation has only fifteen foreign ministers in employ, it has actually to pay fifty-seven foreign ministers, and to pay altogether a sum which they believe to surpass that which is paid for the same purpose by all the other nations in the whole world; your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay one Field Marshal or one General for every 163 private soldiers in the army, including non commissioned officers, five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and one commissioned officer to every four private men; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay two Admirals for every one of its ships of the line; one Admiral for every 140 sailors, and one commissioned officer, exclusive of midshipmen, for every five sailors; that they would be still more, if possible, surprised to find, that a million and a half of money has been voted out of the taxes for the

relief of the poor clergy of the church of England, especially when they looked at the above-mentioned monstrous pluralities, and knew that many of the bishops have lately died, leaving from two to four hundred thousand pounds each in personal property for the aggrandisement of their families; that the surprise of your petitioners would surpass all power of utterance in finding, that military and naval half pay had been given, out of the taxes, to men, who were, at the same time, receiving tithes and other emoluments, as clergymen of the established church; that, in short, the least incredible of these things would appear to your humble petitioners sufficient to astonish an indignant world; but that, when your petitioners reflect on the averment of the petition of 1793, that a decided majority of your honourable House was returned by 154 persons, partly Peers and partly great commoners, and when they further reflect that your honourable House is the sole imposer and the sole guardian and the sole distributor of the public money; when they thus reflect, and forget not that in the year 1808, a return laid before your honourable House stated, that your honourable members yourselves received amongst you 178,994*l.* a year, out of the public money; when your humble petitioners thus reflect, all ground of surprise vanishes at once, and the only question with your anxious and humble petitioners is, how long they, and their country, are doomed yet to behold this state of things.

That your humble petitioners, convinced that there can be no peaceable termination to their sufferings and the disgrace of their country, until this mighty cause of mischief be removed, most humbly and most earnestly pray, that, as the best, and, indeed the only means of supporting, for any length of time, the Protestant establishment in church and state, your honourable House will, first, pass an act to make a radical reform in your honourable House, and that you will, next, pass an act totally abolishing all clerical tithes, both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the church revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the clergy the use of

the churches, the parsonage-houses, and the glebes, and, if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the priests and ministers of our Roman Catholic and Dissenting fellow subjects.

And your humble petitioners will ever pray.

IRISH CHURCH COMMISSION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of William Cobbett, of Barnes, in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner prays your honourable House, that the Protestant church of Ireland, as by law established, may be, by law, repealed and utterly abrogated and abolished; and that this prayer he founds on the facts which he, with the greatest respect, will now proceed to submit to your honourable House.

That, until the year 1547, the Catholic religion was the only religion known in Ireland; that, after the Protestant religion was introduced into England, it was, by law, made to be the religion taught in the churches in Ireland; that a Protestant clergy were made to supplant the clergy of the ancient religion; that the latter were turned out of the livings and the churches; that the altars were pulled down and the mass abolished, and the Protestant table and common prayer forcibly introduced in their stead.

That the people of Ireland saw with great indignation this attempt to force upon them a new and strange religion, and to compel them to abandon and to become apostates to that religion in which they had been born and bred, that religion which had been the religion of their fathers for many centuries, and the truth, purity, and wisdom of which were so clearly proved by its happy effects.

That, therefore, the people rejected this new religion, of the origin of which, or of the authority by which it was imposed on them, they had, and could have, no idea; but that the Government of

England persisted in compelling the Irish to submit to an abandonment of the ancient, and to an adoption of the new religion.

That, in order to effect this purpose, clergymen to officiate in the churches of Ireland were sent from England, and that to these the tithes and other church-revenues were all transferred, leaving the Catholic clergy to beg or starve; but that, such was the abhorrence which the Irish people entertained at the thought of apostatizing from their religion, that they shunned, as they would have shunned deposits of deadly pestilence, those churches, to which they had before resorted with punctuality and zeal surpassed by the people of no nation on the earth; and that, still clinging to their faithful pastors, they secretly sought in houses, in barns, in woods, in caves, amongst rocks, or in fastnesses of some sort, the comforts of that communion, to which they no longer dared to resort in open day.

The Government, irritated at this contumacy, as it was called, but fidelity, as it ought to have been called, resorted to means the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and even the most ferocious, in order to subdue this pious fidelity; that it inflicted fine, imprisonment, torture, or death, and sometimes two or three, or all of these on the same person; that it confiscated not only innumerable estates belonging to Catholics, but whole counties at once, on the plea that this was necessary in order to plant the Protestant religion; that the lands thus confiscated were given to Protestants; and that, in reality, the former owners were extirpated, or made little better than slaves to the intruders.

That, however, in spite of acts of tyranny, at the thought of which Nero and Caligula would have startled with horror, which acts continued to be enforced with unabated rigour for more than 200 years; that, in spite of these acts of fining, confiscating, plundering, racking, and killing, all having in view one single object, that of compelling the people to conform to the church as by law established; that, in spite of all these atrocious acts, these matchless barbarities of two hundred years, the people of Ire-

land, though their country was frequently almost literally strewed with mangled bodies, and made red with blood, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the religion of their and of our fathers; that, in spite of death continually looking them in the face; in spite of prisons, racks, halters, axes, and the bowel ripping knife; in spite of all these, their faithful priests have never deserted them; and that the priests now in Ireland are the successors of thousands of heroic martyrs, many of whom were actually ripped up and cut into quarters.

That, nevertheless, the new church, by law established, got safely into her possession all the property that had belonged to the ancient church: and that she took all the tithes, all the parsonage houses, all the glebes, all the landed estates, which in Ireland are of immense extent and value; so that Ireland exhibited, has, for nearly three hundred years, continued to exhibit, and still exhibits, the strange sight of an enormously rich established church nearly without flocks, and on the other hand, an almost mendicant priesthood with flocks comprising the main part of the people; it exhibits a religious system, which takes the use of the churches from the millions, and gives it to the thousands; that takes the churches from that religion by the followers of which they were founded and endowed, and gives them to that religion the followers of which protest against the faith of the founders and endowers, and brand their religion as idolatrous and damnable.

That your humble petitioner can form an idea of no being short of a fiend, in point of malignity and cruelty, capable of viewing such a scene without feelings of horror; and, therefore, he is confident, that your honourable House, still, as he hopes, animated with the benevolent spirit which led to the recent enactment in favour of the persecuted Catholics, will hasten to put an end to a scene so disgraceful, and to injustice so flagrantly outrageous.

That it must be manifest to every one, that there could be, for giving the vast revenues of the church of Ireland to a Protestant clergy, no ground other than that those revenues might be applied in

such manner as to cause the main body of the people to become and remain Protestants, and that, too, of the communion established by law: that those revenues, on the most moderate estimate, amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year; that several of the Irish bishops have, of late years, left, at their death, personal property exceeding, for each, two hundred thousand pounds; that the deaneries and prebends, and other benefices in the church of Ireland, as by law established, are of great value; and that your humble petitioner is sure that your honourable House will not deem him presumptuous, if he take it for granted, that your honourable House will allow, that it is impossible that any Government in its senses, that any but tyrants, and mad tyrants too, would have given immense revenues to the Protestant clergy, unless with a view, and in the confident expectation, of seeing the people, or a large part of them at any rate, converted to the Protestant faith, and joining in the Protestant communion; for that, otherwise, it must have been evident, that those immense revenues could only serve to create division, and to perpetuate all the passionate hostile to the peace and prosperity of a country.

That, however, at the end of two hundred and seventy-six years, there are, in Ireland, even a less number of church Protestants than, as your humble petitioner finds good historical reason for believing, there were a hundred and eighty years ago; and that it is a fact generally admitted, that the church Protestants in that country have long been, and still are, decreasing in number, compared with that of the Catholics, and also compared with that of those Protestant sects who stand aloof from her common prayer and communion; that it is an undoubted fact, that, in many parishes, there are scarcely any Protestants at all; that, in some parishes there is not one; that throughout the whole country, there is not, on an average, more than one church Protestant to every six Catholics or Dissenters; and that, while the Catholics are shut out of the churches founded and endowed by their forefathers of the same faith, and

while these churches are empty, or, at best, echo to the solitary voice of the stipendiary agent of the opulent and luxurious non-residing incumbent, the Catholics are compelled, either to abandon the public practice of their worship, to build chapels at their own expense, or, which they are frequently compelled to do, kneel down on the ground and in the open air.

That, if your honourable House will hardly be able to refrain from expressing deep indignation at the thought of a scene like this (existing apparently with your approbation), it would be presumptuous indeed, in your humble petitioner, to attempt to estimate the feelings with which you must contemplate the present state of the Irish church, as by law established, and the present application of its prodigious revenues.

That there are in Ireland 3,403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings, and that, therefore, each person has, on an average, the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3,403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 persons; that of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 that have parsonage-houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage house in every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or one church to seven parishes; and that even in these, residence of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making, out of the public resources, provision for certain families and parsons; that of the four archbishops and eighteen bishops of the Irish church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioner believes, fourteen who are, by blood or marriage, related to peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioner to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and livings; and that, therefore, the Irish church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioner to exist for no other purpose than that of furnishing the Go-

vernment with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy.

That, though this must, as your petitioner presumes your honourable House will believe, be a great evil, it is attended with evils still greater than itself: that to expect in such a state of things, a willing payment of tithes, and clerical dues, would be next to a trait of madness: that the tithes are often collected by the aid of a military force, and that bloodshed is not unfrequently a circumstance in the enterprise; that it is manifest, that, if there were no military force kept up, there could be no tithes collected; and that, therefore, to the evil of the present application of the Irish Church revenues, is to be added to the cost, and all the other evils arising from keeping up of a great standing army in Ireland; that, besides this army, there is kept on foot an armed, and, sometimes, mounted, police establishment, costing an immense sum annually; that it is clear that neither army nor police would be wanted in Ireland were it not for the existence of the church establishment, which the Catholics or Dissenters, who from six parts out of seven out of the people must naturally and notoriously do, detest and abhor; that, therefore, while the Irish church, as by law established, appears to your humble petitioner to be kept up as a source for supplying government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy, the army and police appear to him to be required solely for the purpose of giving efficiency and permanence to that supply.

That, hence arise, as your humble petitioner firmly believes, all the discontents, all the troubles, all the poverty, nakedness, hunger, all the human degradation in Ireland; and this belief he founds upon facts which are undeniable.

That, when the Reformation laid its merciless hand on Ireland, that country, blessed with a soil and climate as good as any in the world, had 649 monasteries, and other foundations of that nature; that it had a church in every parish, instead of having, as now, one church, on an average, to seven parishes; that it had then a priest in every parish, who relieved the poor and repaired the church out of the

tithes : that it had, in the monasteries and in the bishops' palaces, so many points whence the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, received relief ; and that it had (greater than all the rest) unity of faith, glory to God with one voice, peace on earth, and good will towards men.

That, alas ! your humble petitioner need not tell your honourable House, that these have all, yea all, been swept away by the means made use of to introduce, establish, and uphold the Protestant hierarchy ; that these means are still in practice, and are, in productiveness of turmoil and misery, as active and efficient as ever ; and that, as long as that hierarchy shall continue to exist, these same means must, your petitioner is convinced, be employed constantly and with unabated rigour.

That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedents set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant church now established by law in Ireland ; that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that church ; that, in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made effectual provision for the relief of the poor ; and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as in your wisdom you shall deem to be meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Barn-Elm, 20. April, 1829.

TURNING OUT OF THE MINISTERS,

BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS !

Normandy, 9. April, 1835.

LAST time it was a turning out by the King. This time it is a turning out by the House of Commons. The causes of it will be seen by the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL, made last night in the House of Commons. I shall first insert this

speech ; and then, in a letter to the right honourable Baronet himself, say a word or two upon the subject of that speech.

"The SPEAKER went through his daily list of Members in turn to present petitions. Amidst the continued anxiety of the House not a word could be heard until

"Sir ROBERT PEEL rose, and immediately the utmost silence was observed in every part of the House, when the right hon Baronet proceeded as follows : Sir, it is my intention that the Mutiny Bill be read a third time, and in making that motion, I wish to avail myself of the opportunity which it affords me of signifying to the House that I, in conjunction with all my colleagues in his Majesty's service, and in conformity with their unanimous opinion, have felt it incumbent upon us, upon combined consideration of the vote to which the House came last night, and of our position as a Government, to signify to his Majesty that it was our duty to place the offices which we held at the disposal of his Majesty. I do not hesitate to say that I have taken this course with the utmost reluctance, and not without the deepest sense of its necessity, because I felt, that being in possession of the confidence of the King, and having received from his Majesty the most cordial and unremitting support ; looking at the present position of public affairs, and at the present state of political parties ; looking also at their strength—the numerical strength of that great party by which we have been supported ; I have felt it my duty to continue the attempt of administering the public affairs, as the responsible advisers of the Crown, up to the latest moment consistent with the interests of the public service. Sir, when I do not hesitate to avow that reluctance, I believe I shall have credit with a great majority of the House of Commons (Loud cries of Hear, from the opposition) that that reluctance is connected with public principle. (Reiterated opposition cheers). I have a strong impression that when a public man, at a crisis of great importance, undertakes the public trust of administering the af-

"fairs of the Government of this country,
 "that he does incur an obligation of per-
 "severing in the administration of those
 "affairs as long as it is possible. I do
 "feel that no interference with public
 "life, that no disgust to the labours it
 "imposes, that no personal mortifications,
 "no reference to private feeling, should
 "sanction a public man, on light grounds,
 "in withdrawing from that post to which
 "the favour of his Sovereign had called
 "him; but, at the same time, there is
 "an evil in exhibiting to the country the
 "want, on the part of Government, of
 "that support in the House of Commons
 "which shall enable it satisfactorily to
 "conduct the public business; which
 "shall enable it to exercise a legitimate
 "and necessary control over the proceed-
 "ings of this House (Hear, hear), a con-
 "trol conferred on it by the possession of
 "that confidence. (Cries of Hear, hear).
 "I repeat, sir, there is an evil in that
 "exhibition of weakness to which limits
 "must be placed. (Hear, hear). I must
 "say, that, reverting to all that has oc-
 "curred since the commencement of the
 "present session; looking to the little
 "progress that we have been enabled to
 "make from the want of that support and
 "confidence; looking to what has oc-
 "curred on each of the last four nights,
 "in which his Majesty's Ministers have
 "had the misfortune to be in a minority
 "on each occasion, on Thursday last, on
 "Friday last, on Monday, and on last
 "night, although that minority was a
 "smaller one than that with which we com-
 "menced this session; adverting to the
 "fact, that on that occasion we received
 "the support of those who, not having
 "general and unlimited confidence in the
 "Government, yet still have given to
 "that Government a cordial and honour-
 "able support (great cheers), on every
 "question on which it was necessary to
 "give it. Adverting to all these con-
 "siderations, I must say, in my opinion,
 "the time is come, when it is incumbent
 "upon us to withdraw from office. In
 "addition to these considerations, the
 "vote of last night, that vote I conceived
 "implied a want of confidence in his
 "Majesty's Government, because it was
 "not necessary, in my opinion, for any

"public purpose, to come to that vote:
 "(Great cheering). It was tantamount
 "to a declaration on that part of the
 "House, that the House had not that
 "confidence in his Majesty's Govern-
 "ment which entitled the Members of the
 "present Government to submit to the
 "consideration of the House the measures
 "of which it had given notice. (Cheers).
 "The noble Lord had signified his inten-
 "tion, if the vote the House had come
 "to last night should meet with its ap-
 "probation, that he would follow it up
 "with an address to the Crown. Sir, I
 "conceive, as great embarrassment of
 "the public affairs would have arisen
 "from the presentation of that Address,
 "and as I had no right to think the
 "House would take a different view with
 "respect to it, I thought it incumbent
 "upon me, and in that view I have acted
 "in conformity with my colleagues, I
 "thought that my public duty was, I
 "thought that a public duty was imposed
 "upon me, which I sincerely felt, I
 "thought that the time was fast ap-
 "proaching when resignation was in-
 "evitable, and that I ought not to per-
 "severe in a useless struggle, which
 "might involve his Majesty and the
 "country in additional difficulties and
 "inconveniences. Sir, we consider that
 "vote was not merely tantamount to a
 "want of confidence, but the vote of last
 "night implied the necessity of a full
 "change of the system in Ireland, so
 "far as the church revenues were con-
 "cerned. Sir, we considered that that
 "would impose such difficulties in the
 "way of the practical administration of
 "the Government in Ireland as to render
 "it incumbent on us to enter no farther
 "into the consideration of that question.
 "In addition, sir, to the fact of the vote
 "being tantamount to a want of confi-
 "dence, it also imposed on us the ne-
 "cessity of undertaking the practical
 "execution of the laws in Ireland, when
 "a majority, a considerable majority of
 "the House had approved of a principle
 "at variance with the principle with
 "which he set out. Sir, the vote of last
 "night is not an abstract principle, the
 "practical execution of which could be
 "carried into effect by us. (Loud cheers).

" There may, sir, be points on which the
 " House of Commons may come to a
 " different opinion to that of the Go-
 " vernment upon some abstract principle
 " of great importance, but still there
 " might be such a case wherein the Go-
 " vernment might govern even in oppo-
 " sition to the House. (Cheers). But,
 " sir, the vote of last night places things
 " in a very different position. You can-
 " not leave the question of tithes in its
 " present state. At present you are in
 " a position in which you cannot remain.
 " In the uncertainty which prevails, you
 " cannot by any possibility enforce the
 " collection of tithes. (Cheers). Nothing
 " would be more dangerous than to leave
 " the question in its present state.
 " Property of all sorts would be placed
 " in the utmost jeopardy. (Hear). We
 " could not carry out your principle—
 " (hear, hear)—and therefore we consi-
 " dered your vote of last night as tanta-
 " mount to a vote of no confidence. Sir,
 " under these circumstances, if we had
 " remained in power, if we had continued
 " in the Government, we would have
 " been pressed for an immediate settle-
 " ment of that question upon the Tithe
 " Bill of which we have given notice, one
 " of the principles of which was to be the
 " remission of our claim upon the Irish
 " clergy, for the instalments due under
 " the Million Act. (Cheers). Sir, I can-
 " not see, I cannot for a moment sup-
 " pose, that the House would have come
 " to a different conclusion. I cannot
 " anticipate that the House would have
 " sanctioned that principle; that it would
 " have given up its right to those instal-
 " ments without the recognition of the
 " principle of the vote of last night.
 " (Hear, hear, hear). Under these cir-
 " cumstances, and having reason to ap-
 " prehend the delay of a few days would
 " make no material difference; consider-
 " ing also that we must have shortly pro-
 " ceeded with the Tithe Bill, on which
 " we must have again clashed with the
 " House, we did consider that the vote of
 " last night was tantamount to a resolu-
 " tion of no confidence in the Ministry
 " (Cheers). Being firmly resolved to ad-
 " here to the principle of that bill (loud
 " Ministerial cheering continued for
 " some minutes); being firmly resolved
 " not to admit the principle of the vote
 " of last night, under any circumstances
 " (reiterated cheering); under all these
 " combined considerations, we feel it to
 " be our duty, to be incumbent on us as
 " public men, respectfully to request his
 " Majesty to accept the resignation of our
 " various seals. (Great cheering from the
 " opposition). Sir, I have therefore to
 " state that we hold our offices for the
 " execution of public business only, and
 " to prevent public inconvenience, until
 " our successors are appointed. Perhaps
 " the best course I can take will be to
 " propose a short adjournment. I shall
 " not propose it beyond Monday. I should
 " have made the motion for adjournment
 " at once, but that there would be an ob-
 " jection to it until another matter had
 " been disposed of. Perhaps the House
 " will feel at this present moment, and
 " in the existing state of public affairs,
 " that any public discussion of other
 " business will be unnecessary, and I
 " trust that the motion will be agreed
 " to almost, if not quite, unanimously.
 " (Loud cheers from the opposition).
 " If inconvenience should be likely to
 " arise to the parties interested in the
 " Election Committee, for which a ballot
 " is fixed for to morrow, the House will,
 " perhaps, meet for the purpose of mak-
 " ing that ballot in order to prevent such
 " inconvenience, consenting at the same
 " time to the adjournment till Monday.
 " It is with a view to preserve the public
 " interests that I move the third reading
 " of the Mutiny Bill, which I hope will
 " be as unanimously agreed to as the
 " motion for adjournment. (Hear, hear).
 " I wish to give this explanation as briefly
 " as possible, and in a manner the least
 " likely to excite any angry feelings.
 " (Tremendous cheering). The whole of
 " my life has been spent in the House of
 " Commons, and I desire that the re-
 " mainder may be spent there; and what-
 " ever may be the conduct of others, I
 " shall always be anxious to stand well
 " with the House, whether in a majority
 " or in a minority. (Renewed cheering).
 " I well know that under no circum-
 " stances of censure or difficulty would I
 " ever have advised the resignation of that

" great source of moral strength, which
 " consists in a strict adherence to the
 " principles of the spirit of the constitu-
 " tion of the country; for I am sure
 " that adherence will be the surest safe-
 " guard against any impending danger,
 " and that is why I believe myself and
 " my colleagues ought not to persist in
 " carrying on public affairs, after a fair
 " trial, and against the decided opinion
 " of a majority of the House of Commons.
 " It is because I have that conviction
 " deeply rooted in my mind, although
 " I do sincerely regret the necessity
 " which has compelled me to abandon
 " the King's service at this moment.
 " Yet upon the balance of public feeling,
 " I confess that I shall most directly
 " promote the ultimate interests of the
 " country by retiring, than by persisting
 " in a fruitless attempt to carry on public
 " affairs." The right hon. Baronet sat
 down amid reiterated cheering from all
 sides of the House.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Normandy, 9. April, 1835.

SIR,—You will, now perhaps (no : you will not) think me somewhat of a true prophet. You had one means, and only one, of remaining in power, with any sort of tranquillity; and that was the following of my advice with regard to the malt-tax, and the horrible Poor-law Bill. However, your being put out of your office will produce no quiet on the Treasury-bench : no man can sit quietly there now, for any length of time, unless the burdens of the people be greatly diminished, and unless the churches, both in England and Ireland, be completely repealed; and this will be your opinion, too, when you have read my *Legacy to the Parsons*.

Now, sir, I beg you to believe, that I am not actuated, in saying this, or in doing anything that I do, by any feeling of resentment against anybody, nor by any desire to have any share in that scramble,

which the frightened imagination of your advocates have conjured up the idea of. I am actuated solely by a desire of preparing the country for that which I know *must come*. I wish to blame nobody; but, being convinced that my opinions are correct, I wish to make them known; and I wish (and that is all that I wish for in this world) to be known by my countrymen to be a man of understanding; I wish to have the reputation of possessing great knowledge as to the affairs of my country; and I wish to prove that I apply that knowledge for the good of my country. You can have no successors, who can remain your successors, without making those great changes which are necessary to prevent a greater and more fearful change. There may be men to imagine, that they can cajole the country along, by doing *little* things. Those men will deceive themselves. The present circumstances set majorities and minorities at defiance : a combination, cemented by an oath, consisting of every man of property in the country, could not long cause fifty millions of taxes to be collected with wheat at four-and-sixpence a bushel. The aristocracy and the clergy of England are now tasting the *bitter* fruits of the *sweet* victory of WATERLOO, and of *their* war that preceded it. "*As the end approacheth, there will be an everlasting chopping and changing of Ministry,*" till, at last, no one will undertake to carry on this system, who does not stand in absolute need of the necessities of life."

You once called in question my gift of prophecy; but this, which was written and published in 1828, looks very much like the possession of such gift. The truth is, however, that there was no particular gift wanted, to be able to foresee this. To be able to foresee this required only the leading of a sober life, and the making use of unsophisticated common sense.

I have witnessed the display of your talents with great admiration; though, in the case of the malt-tax, I detested the purpose for which those talents were exerted. You have been more frank and fair than your predecessors were; but your country has to lament that you had

the support of those predecessors, in opposing one of those measures which would have afforded relief to the country.

I am,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POOR-LAW BILL.

(From the Brighton Patriot, 7. April.)

EASTBOURNE.—The annual meeting of this parish for the election of the parochial officers took place on Monday, at which nothing particular occurred, except the hoisting a red flag on the poor-house the night previous by some person or persons unknown. It is rumoured that one was hoisted at Alfreton with the inscription, "Death or Liberty." The feeling here is very strong against the Poor-law Bill.

Now, *mind*. I do *implore* the Ministers not to proceed with this bill, *for the present*, at least.

DIVISION

ON LORD J. RUSSELL'S MOTION,
30. March.

MAJORITY.

Acheson, Lord	Belfast, Earl of
Adam, Admiral	Bellew, Richard M
Aglionby, Henry A	Bellew, Sir P, Bart
Ainsworth, Peter	Berkeley, Captain
Angerstein, John	Berkeley, Hon C
Alston, Rowland	Berkeley, Hon G
Anson, Sir George	Bernal, Ralph
Andover, Lord	Bewes, Thomas
Astley, Sir Jacob, Bart	Biddulph, Robert
Attwood, Thomas	Bish, Thomas
Bagshaw, John	Blackburne, J J
Baines, Edward	Blake, Martin J
Bainbridge, Edw T	Blamire, William
Bannerman, Alexander	Blunt, Sir Charles
Barclay, David	Bodkin, John James
Barham, John	Bowes, John
Baring, Francis T	Bowring, Dr
Barnard, Edward G	Brabazon, Sir Wm
Barron, Henry W	Brady, Denis C
Barry, Garret S	Bridgman, Hewitt
Beaucherk, Major	Brocklehurst, John
Beaumont, T W	Brodie, William B

Brotherton, Joseph	Fitzsimon, Chris
Brown, Rt Hon D	Fitzsimon, Nicholas
Buckingham, J S	Folkes, Sir Wm
Buller, Charles	Fort, John
Bulwer, H L	Fox, Lient-Colonel
Bulwer, E L	Gaskell, Daniel
Butler, Hon Pierce	Gillon, Wm Downe
Buxton, T F	Gisborne, Thomas
Byng, Sir John	Gordon, Robert
Byng, George	Goring, Harry Dent
Campbell, Sir J	Grant, Rt Hon C
Campbell, W F	Grattan, Henry
Carter, J B	Grattan, James
Cave, R O	Grey, Sir Geo, Bart
Cavendish, Hon C C	Grey, Hon Charles
Cavendish, Hon G H	Grosvenor, Lord R
Cayley, Edward S	Grote, George
Chalmers, Patrick	Guest, Josiah John
Chapman, M L	Gully, John
Chichester, J P	Hall, Benjamin
Clay, William	Hallyburton, Hon D G
Clements, Lord	Handley, Henry
Clive, Edward Bolton	Harland, W Charles
Cobbett, Wm	Harvey, D Whittle
Cockerell, Sir C, Bart	Hawes, Benjamin
Codrington, Sir E	Hay, Colonel Leith
Colborne, N W R	Hawkins, J Heywood
Collier, John	Heathcote, R E
Conyngnam, Lord A	Heathcote, John
Cookes, T	Hector, C
Copeland, W T	Heneage, Edward
Cowper, Hon W F	Heron, Sir R, Bart
Crawford, William	Hindley, Charles
Crawford, Wm S	Hodges, T
Crawley, Samuel	Hodges, Thomas Law
Crompton, Samuel	Hoskins, Kedgwin
Curteis, Herbert B	Howard, Hon E
Curteis, Captain	Howard, Philip H
Dalmney, Lord	Howard, Ralph
De Beauvoir, Sir J	Howick, Viscount
Denison, John E	Hume, Joseph
Denison, Wm J	Hurst, Robert Henry
Denniston, Alexander	Hutt, William
Divett, Edward	Kemp, Thomas Read
Dobbin, Leonard	Kennedy, James
Don, O'Connor	Kerry, Earl of
Donkin, Sir R	King, Edward B
Duncombe, Hon. T S	Labouchere, Henry
Dunlop, Colin	Lambton, Heworth
Dykes, F L	Langton, Colonel
Ebrington, Lord	Leader, John Temple
Elphinstone, Howard	Lefevre, Charles S
Ellice, Rt Hon E	Lennard, Thomas B
Etwall, Ralph	Lister, C
Evans, Col De Lacy	Littleton, Rt Hon E J
Evans, George	Loch, James
Ewart, William	Long, Walter
Fazakerley, John N	Lushington, Dr.
Fellowes, Hon N	Lushington, Charles
Ferguson, R	Lynch, A H
Ferguson, Sir R	Mackenzie, J S
Fergus, John	Macleod, Roderick
Fergusson, Rt Hon C	Macnamara, Major
Fielden, John	M'Cance, John
Finn, Wm Francis	M'Taggart, John
Fitzgibbon, Hon Col	Maher, John
Fitzroy, Lord Charles	Mangles, James

Majoribanks, S
 Marshall, William
 Marsland, W
 Martin, T B
 Maule, Hon Fox
 Methuen, Paul
 Milton, Lord
 Molesworth, Sir W
 Moreton, Hon A
 Mostyn, Hon E
 Morpeth, Lord
 Mullins, F
 Murray, John Arch
 Musgrave, Sir R, Bart
 Nagle, Sir R, Bart
 O'Brien, Wm Smith
 O'Brien, Cornelius
 O'Connell, Morgan J
 O'Connell, Daniel
 O'Connell, Maurice
 O'Connell, Morgan
 O'Connell, John
 O'Connor, Feargus
 O'Dwyer, A C
 O'Ferrall, R M
 Oliphant, Laurence
 O'Loughlin, M
 Ord, William Henry
 Ord, William
 Oswald, R A
 Oswald, James
 Palmer, R
 Paget, Captain
 Parnell, Rt Hon Sir H
 Parrott, Jasper
 Pattison, James
 Pease, Joseph
 Pechell, Captain
 Pelham, Hon C A
 Pendarves, E W
 Pepys, C
 Perrin, Sergeant
 Phillips, George R
 Phillips, Mark
 Pinney, William
 Ponsonby, Hon J
 Potter, Richard
 Poulter, John
 Power, P
 Power, James
 Price, Sir Robert, Bart
 Pryme, George
 Pryse, Pryse
 Ramsbottom, John
 Ramsden, John C
 Rice, Rt Hon T S
 Rippon, Cuthbert
 Roberts, Abraham W
 Robinson, George R
 Roche, William
 Roche, David
 Roebuck, J
 Rolfe, R M
 Ronayne, Dominick
 Rooper, J Bonfoy
 Rundell, John
 Russell, Lord

Russell, Lord John
 Russell, Lord C
 Ruthven, Edward
 Ruthven, E S
 Schofield, Joshua
 Scott, James W
 Scrope, George
 Seale, Colonel
 Seymour, Lord
 Sharpe, General
 Sheldon, E R
 Sheil, Richard L
 Simeon, Sir R, Bart
 Smith, Benjamin
 Smith, Abel
 Smith, Robert V
 Smith, Hon R
 Speirs, Captain
 Spiers, A G
 Stanley, Hon H
 Stanley, Edward
 Stewart, Robert
 Stewart, P Maxwell
 Strickland, Sir George
 Strutt, Edward
 Stuart, Lord J
 Stuart, Lord D
 Sullivan, Richard
 Surrey, Earl of
 Talbot, C M R
 Talfourd, Sergeant
 Tancred, H
 Tennyson, Rt Hon C
 Thompson, Paul B
 Thorneley, Thomas
 Tooke, William
 Tracey, Charles H
 Trelawney, Sir S
 Trowbridge, Sir T
 Tulk, Charles A
 Turner, William
 Tynte, C
 Tynte, Colonel C
 Villiers, Charles P
 Vivian, Major
 Vivian, John Henry
 Wakley, Thomas
 Walker, A
 Wallace, Robert
 Warburton, Henry
 Ward, George Henry
 Westenra, Col
 Westenra, Hon H
 Whalley, Sir S
 White, Samuel
 Wigney, Isaac N
 Wilbraham, George
 Wilde, Sergeant
 Wilkins, Walter
 Williams, William
 Williams, Sir J
 Williams, Wm A
 Williamson, Sir H
 Wilson, Henry
 Winnington, Sir T
 Winnington, H
 Wood, Matthew

Wood, Charles
 Wrightson, W B

Wrottesley, Sir J
 Wyse, T

MINORITY.

Agnew, Sir A Bart
 Alford, Lord
 Alsager, Captain
 Arbuthnot, Hon G H
 Archdall, M
 Ashley, Lord
 Ashley, Hon H
 Attwood, Matthias
 Bagot, Hon Wm
 Bailey, Joseph
 Baillie, Colonel
 Balfour, J
 Barclay, Charles
 Baring, Thomas
 Baring, H Bingham
 Baring, Wm B
 Baring, Francis
 Baring, Right Hon A
 Barneby, John
 Bateson, Sir R Bart
 Beckett, Rt Hon Sir J
 Bell, Matthew
 Bennett, John
 Bentinck, Lord Geo
 Beresford, Sir J
 Bethell, Richard
 Blackburne, J J
 Blackstone, Wm S
 Boldero, Captain
 Bolling, Wm
 Bonham, Francis R
 Borthwick, Peter
 Bradshaw, James
 Bramston, Thomas W
 Brownrigg, J S
 Bruce, Lord E
 Bruce, C L C
 Brudenell, Lord
 Bruen, Colonel
 Bruen, Francis
 Buller, Sir J
 Burrell, Sir C
 Calcraft, J H
 Campbell, Sir H P
 Canning, Rt Hon Sir S
 Carruthers, David
 Castlereagh, Viscount
 Chandos, Marquis of
 Chaplin, Colonel
 Chapman, Aaron
 Charlton, E L
 Chatterton, Col
 Chetwynd, Captain
 Chichester, Arthur
 Churchill, Lord C
 Clerk, Sir G, Bart
 Clive, Viscount
 Clive, Hon R H
 Codrington, C W
 Cole, Viscount
 Cole, Hon A
 Compton, Henry C
 Conolly, Col
 Cooper, E J
 Coote, Sir C H, Bart
 Corbett, T G
 Corry, Rt Hon H
 Crewe, Sir G, Bart
 Cripps, Joseph
 D'Albiac, Sir C
 Damer, G L D
 Darlington, Earl of
 Davenport, John
 Dick, Quintin
 Dottin, Abel Rous
 Dowdeswell, William
 Duffield, Thomas
 Dugdale, W S
 Duncombe, Capt A
 Duncombe, Hon W
 Dundas, Robert A
 Durham, Sir P
 East, James Buller
 Eastnor, Viscount
 Eaton, Richard J
 Egerton, Wm Tatton
 Egerton, Sir P
 Egerton, Lord Francis
 Entwistle, John
 Estcourt, Thomas G B
 Fancourt, Major C
 Fector, John Minet
 Ferguson, Capt G
 Ferguson, Sir R A
 Feilden, William
 Finch, George
 Fleetwood, Peter H
 Fleming, John
 Foley, Edw Thomas
 Follett, Sir W
 Forbes, Lord
 Forbes, William
 Forester, Hon G C
 Forster, Charles S
 Fremantle, Sir T, Bt
 Freshfield, James W
 Gaskell, James M
 Geary, Sir W
 Gladstone, Thomas
 Gladstone, Wm E
 Glynn, Sir S R
 Goodricke, F L H
 Gordon, Capt Wm
 Gore, Wm Ormsby
 Goulburn, Rt Hon H
 Graham, Rt Hon Sir J
 Grant, Hon Colonel
 Greene, T G
 Greisley, Sir R, Bart
 Greville, Hon Sir C
 Grimston, Viscount
 Grimston, Hon E
 Halford, Henry
 Halse, James

Hamilton, Lord C
 Hanmer, Sir J, Bart
 Hanmer, Col H
 Harcourt, George V
 Hardinge, Sir Henry
 Hardy, John
 Hawkes, Thomas
 Hay, Sir John, Bart
 Hayes, Sir E S, Bart
 Henniker, Lord
 Herbert, Hon Sidney
 Herries, Rt Hon J C
 Hill, Lord Arthur
 Hill, Sir Rowland, Bt
 Hogg, James Weir
 Hope, Hon James
 Hope, Henry T
 Hotham, Lord
 Hoy, James Barlow
 Hughes, W Hughes
 Inglis, Sir R
 Irton, Samuel
 Jackson, Joseph D
 Jermyn, Earl
 Johnson, J H
 Johnston, A
 Johnstone, Sir J
 Jones, Capt T
 Jones, Wilson
 Kelly, Frederick
 Kerr, David
 Kerrison, Sir Edward
 Kirk, Peter
 Knatchbull, Sir E
 Lawson, Andrew
 Lee, John Lee
 Lefroy, Anthony
 Lushington, Rt Hon S
 Law, Hon C E
 Lefroy, Rt Hon T
 Lemon, Sir C, Bart
 Lennox, Lord G
 Lennox, Lord Arthur
 Lewis, Wyndham
 Lewis, David
 Leycester, Joseph
 Lincoln, Earl of
 Lopes, Sir Ralph, Bart
 Lowther, Lord
 Lowther, John H
 Lowther, Hon H C
 Lucas, Edward
 Lygon, Hon Col
 Mackinnon, W A
 Maclean, Donald
 Mahon, Lord
 Mandeville, Viscount
 Manners, Lord Robert
 Marsland, Thomas
 Martin, John
 Mathew, Captain
 Maxwell, Henry
 Meynell, Capt
 Miles, William
 Miles, Philip J
 Miller, Wm
 Mordaunt, Sir J Bart

Morgan, Chas M R
 Mosley, Sir O, Bart
 Neeld, Joseph
 Neeld, John
 Nicholl, John
 Norreys, Lord
 North, F
 O'Neill, Hon Gen
 Ossulston, Lord
 Owen, Sir John, Bart
 Palmer, Robert
 Parry, Col
 Patten, John Wilson
 Peel, Rt Hon Sir R, Bt
 Peel, Colonel
 Peel, Rt Hon W
 Peel, Edmund
 Pelham, John C
 Pemberton, Thomas
 Penruddocke, J H
 Perceval, Colonel
 Phillips, Charles M
 Pigot, Robert
 Plumptre, John P
 Polhill, Captain
 Pollock, Sir J
 Pollington, Lord
 Pollock, Sir F
 Powell, Colonel
 Poyntz, Wm Stephen
 Praed, Winthrop M
 Praed, James B
 Price, Samuel Grove
 Price, Richard
 Pringle, A
 Pusey, Philip
 Rae, Rt Hon Sir W, Bt
 Reid, Sir J Rae, Bart
 Richards, John
 Rickford, William
 Ridley, Sir M, Bart
 Ross, Charles
 Rushbrook, Col R
 Russell, Charles
 Ryle, John
 Sanderson, Richard
 Sandon, Lord
 Scarlett, Hon R
 Scott, Lord John
 Scott, Sir E D
 Scourfield, W H
 Shaw, Rt Hon F
 Sheppard, Thomas
 Sibthorp, Colonel
 Sinclair, G
 Smith, A
 Smith, T A
 Smyth, Sir G H, Bart
 Somerset, Lord E
 Somerset, Lord G
 Spry, Sir Samuel
 Stanley, Edward
 Stanley, Lord
 Stewart, Sir M S, Bart
 Stewart, John
 Stormont, Lord
 Sturt, H

Tennent, J E
 Thomas, Colonel
 Thomson, P B
 Thompson, W
 Townley, R G
 Townsend, Lord J
 Trench, Sir Frederick
 Trevor, Hon G R
 Trevor, Hon Arthur
 Turner, T F
 Twiss, Horace
 Tyrrell, Sir J
 Vere, Sir C
 Verner, Colonel
 Vernon, Granville H
 Vesey, Hon Thomas
 Vivian, John Ennis
 Vyvyan, Sir R

Wall, Charles Baring
 Walpole, Lord
 Welby, Glynne Earle
 Weyland, Major
 Whitmore, Thos C
 Wilbraham, Hon R
 Williams, R
 Williams, Thomas P
 Wilmot, Sir E E, Bart
 Wodehouse, E
 Wood, Col T
 Worcester, Marq. of
 Wyndham, Wadham
 Wynn, Sir W, Bart
 Wynn, Rt Hon C
 Yorke, Elliott Thomas
 Young, John
 Young, Sir W

PAIRED OFF.

FOR	AGAINST
Talbot, C R M	Noel, Sir G
Humphery, John	Kavanagh, Thomas
Dundas, Hon T	Wortley, Hon J
Burdett, Sir Francis	Vaughan, Sir R
Parker, John	Goulburn, E
Wemyss, Capt	Tollemache, Hon A
Edwards, Colonel	Owen, Hugh
Hobhouse, Sir J C, Bt	Locke, Wadham

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 3.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

HARWOOD, J., Over Darwin, Lancashire, cotton-cloth-manufacturer.
 HOLDEN, J., Bacup, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

BOARDMAN, B., Norwich, tailor.
 BYAS, D., Oxford-street, upholsterer.
 COWDEROY, C., Mansion-house-street, Kennington, grocer.
 FOX, W., Weston-hill, Norwood, victualler.
 HILL, J., South Milford, Yorkshire, teasle-dealer.
 MADDOX, J. G., Bristol, druggist.
 MALLETT, J., East-street, Walworth, grocer.
 NICHOLS, R., Wakefield, Yorkshire, book-seller.
 ROBSON, W., George-street, Mansion-house, printer.
 ROTH, J., Shirland, Derbyshire, corn-factor.
 SMITH, J. S., and J. G. Bird, Manchester, merchants.
 SMITH, T., jun., East Grinstead, Sussex, chemist.
 TAYLER, J., Coleman-street, merchant.
 THOMAS, J., Coles'-wharf, Thomas-street, Horslydown, granary-keeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

WATSON, A., Bridge-castle, writer to the signet.

TUESDAY, APRIL 7.

INSOLVENTS.

GORTON, William, Gutter-lane, provision-merchant.

HARVIE, Thomas, Jerusalem Coffeehouse, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BALLENY, J., Tynemouth, Northumberland, farmer.

COUCH, F. P., Launceston, Cornwall, horse-dealer.

DYSON, R., Gloucester-street, Queen-square, tailor.

GRATWICK, Edw. W., Goswell-street, tea-dealer.

MORRIS, J., sen., and **J. Morris, jun.**, St. Martin's lane, auctioneers.

MORRIS, J., Carmarthen, ironmonger.

RUDDOCK, J., late of King-street, Portman-square, livery-stable-keeper.

RUSSELL, E., and **William Philip Masters**, Croft, New Tothill-street, Westminster, tobacconists.

SALSBURY, C., Hull, hatter.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 6.—We have had but a moderate supply of Wheat, Flour, Barley, and other articles, since this day week, except of Irish Oats, of which there was an arrival of about twenty vessels this morning, mostly a long time shipped, and detained by contrary winds.

We experienced a dull sale for Wheat, and malting Barley and Malt this morning, at a reduction of 1s. per quarter from last Monday's prices.

In prices of Beans, Peas, and grinding Barley no alteration.

For Oats we have experienced a ready sale since this day week, at an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter over last Monday's prices.

In Corn under lock nothing doing:

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 50s.
Old	48s. to 50s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	42s. to 43s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	36s. to 39s.
Fine white	37s. to 41s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	40s. to 42s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	24s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.

Chevalier	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to —s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	34s. to 36s.
Foreign	33s. to 35s.
Gray or Hog	34s. to 36s.
Maples	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	23s. to 24s.
Yorkshire, feed	23s. to 24s.
Black	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	26s. to 27s.
Ditto, Angus	25s. to 26s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	25s. to 26s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new	23s. to 24s.
Feed, new light	20s. to 21s.
Black, new	22s. to 23s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c. ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed ..	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, April 6.

In this day's market, which was, throughout, moderately well supplied, trade was, with prime small Lamb, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 4d. per stone; with the large and inferior kinds, as also with Beef, Mutton, and Veal, dull, at Friday's quotations.

About 2,000 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Norfolk homebreds, Devons, Shorthorns, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, were for the most part (say 1,500 of them), from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 200 of them, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Herefords, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern districts; about 150, chiefly Devons, Herefords, and runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 160, chiefly Sussex beasts, with a few Devons, and Welsh runts, from Kent, Sussex and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including from 40 to 50 lusty Townsend cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

Fully two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, for the most part out of their wool, in about equal numbers of the South Down and white-faced crosses; about a sixth South-downs; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 800, consisted of about equal numbers of Dorsets, and new Leicesters, with a few pens of long-wooled Southdowns, and Kentish half-breds.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	to	2 2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2 4
Middling Beef	2	6	to	2 10
Ditto Mutton	2	8	to	3 0
Prime Beef	3	6	to	3 10
Ditto Mutton	3	6	to	4 0
Veal	3	6	to	5 0
Pork	3	0	to	4 0
Lamb	5	0	to	6 4

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
Cons Ann. }	91½	92	92½	91½	91½	92½

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As Spring approaches, the rapid propagation and increase of insects on valuable Plants and choice Fruit Trees demands the most prompt and efficient means of preventing their destructive depredations; and for this purpose, after an experience of 30 years' practice in the science of Horticulture, J. READ begs most respectfully to call the attention of Ladies, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Gardeners, Nurserymen, and every person engaged in the cultivation of Trees and Plants, to his most IMPROVED PATENT GARDEN MACHINE, for raising and forcing fluids. The action of this Machine is so light that it may be used even by a Lady, and by the most easy process water may be thrown upon Plants, or the most

choice Fruit Trees, in the fine form of dew or gentle shower, and, when necessary, increased to a powerful current.

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HIS Majesty's Royal Letters Patent have recently been granted to Mr. Coles for a medicated band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public Functionary connected with our London Hospitals whose case had baffled every medicine that was quack, and every medicine that was not quack; has sent Mr. Coles his written testimonial, which may be seen at 3, Charing-Cross. He admits that Mr. Coles's Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease; and he declared that there was not a man upon the face of the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. Coles. Lord Skelmersdale had a coachman who was suffering a martyrdom to this complaint, declared, ere he had worn the Rheumatic Band five days he was more free from pain than he had been during the preceding five years. The Duchess of Sutherland's gardener, Mr. John Soar, could not walk from West Hill, Surrey, to order the Rheumatic Bands, but he was able to walk that distance, 12 miles, to pay for them and back again; and he begged Mr. Coles would let the world know that. The bargain in each case was NO CURE NO PAY. Read Coles on Rheumatism.

To persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, Hernia, the Trusses of Mr. Coles's Invention are the best, 3, Charing Cross, (Truss Maker to his Majesty's forces) from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence of his Patent Truss by the first Practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in Coles's Gazette. Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. M.P. in Boyle's Court Guide; Coles's Gazette, on Rupture, and Coles on Rheumatism.—Published and sold by Sherwood and Co., and William Strange, London. Each one penny, or sixpence per dozen.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.